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"SIMPLEDOM" & "BORING"

DEFINED

There are two terms—"pure and simple Unionism" and "boring from within"—that have figured so conspicuously in the intellectual conflict, now raging in the Labor Movement, that the dust they have raised threatens to obscure them, to cause their real meaning to be lost, and thereby to endanger the intelligent solution of the issue from which they have sprung. Lest so serious a misfortune befall the Question at stake, it will be well, at this season above all others, to brush away the dust from the two terms, and restore them to the purity of their original and only real meaning.

"Pure and simple Unionism" has been twisted by the labor-lieutenants of the capitalist class into a meaning to suit themselves—a meaning that conceals the ulcer, and draws attention away from it. The meaning they seek to attach to the term is: "strictly economic Unionism", as distinguished from "political Unionism"; and many an unguarded wayfarer has fallen into the trap. Such a meaning is false.

The feature of "pure and simple Unionism" is that it is untrue to its own economic pretensions. It pretends to be a "Labor organization", whereas it is, in fact, an "anti-Labor" affair, in that it prevents the organization of the Working Class through a thousand and one schemes, of which high initiation fees, high dues, frequent assessments, restriction of apprentices, etc., are but a few; it pretends to improve the condition of Labor, whereas, in fact, the condition of the Working Class, its own organized membership included, steadily declines; it pretends to fight the battles of the Working Class, whereas, in fact, it fights the battles of the capitalist class by inoculating its membership with every poisonous virus that capitalist practitioners prepare for besotting the workingman and leading him to waste his energies in a blind-alley—such viruses, for instance, as that "Capital must be fought with capital", that "Capital and Labor are Brothers", etc.; it pretends that the wage-system is right and good, and only needs improvement, and it thereby conceals the fact that wages are the wage-slave's chain and the best of wages is but a longer chain; it pretends that the Union is all-sufficient for the protection of the workingman, whereas, in fact, it is up to its eyebrows in politics through its lobbying and other similar committees. Such are the ear-marks of "pure and simpledom." It gave itself the name through Gompers at the Detroit Convention of the A. F. of L. in 1890, and the name was turned against it in satire, seeing that it was neither pure, but corrupt as hell, nor simple, but full of duplicity,—unless by "simple" silliness were meant. The parade, made by the "pure and simple" leader against "POLITICAL action" was but a manœuvre to draw the discussion away from his ECONOMIC crimes. The root of the conflict between bona fide Unionism and the abortion of Gompersism is pivoted upon the economic, and not upon the politcal field. Long before the political phase of the question could be discussed, the two elements were rent in twain upon the fundamental principles of economics.—The conflict will be found well reproduced and elucidated in the De Leon-Harriman New Haven debate.

A similar perversion of meaning has been attempted upon the term "boring from within." Against this term the same manœuvre is tried that was tried against Bebel by the Anarchist delegation that sought admission at the Zurich International Congress in 1893. At Zurich, the Anarchists who sought admission pretended that the difference between them and Bebel was that they believed in physical force, whereas Bebel would have none of it. Bebel tore the false pretence to shreds by showing that the actual difference consisted in that the Anarchists wanted physical force ONLY, whereas the armory of the Social Democracy of Germany held BOTH the peaceful weapon of the ballot and the weapon of physical force. In the same way can the perversion of meaning attempted upon the term "boring from within" be disposed of.

The term "boring from within"—, to which the Socialist Labor Party attaches the same contempt that bona fide Unionism attaches to "pure and simpledom", and to the tune of which the Party has riddled the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party—does not mean what the said so-called Socialist party claims it to mean. It does not mean, as they would have it appear, a condemnation of boring from within, what it does mean, and has amply been stated and proven to mean, is the condemnation of the policy to bore from within ALONE.

The history of the term, aided by the conduct of the said so-called Socialist party, will illustrate the point.

When, in December, 1898, the Volkszeitung Corporation began to feel the need of the cash which the labor-lieutenants of the capitalist class were withholding from it because of the exposures in The People of the crimes against Labor which these leaders were misleading their organizations into committing, the paper began to decry the Trades Union attitude of the Socialist Labor Party. What the attitude was which it attacked may be gathered by the occasions that it took to attack. One of these occasions was when the stone-cutters Union refused to admit new members, after it had raised its initiation fee to $100 in the hope that such an initiation fee would keep them out. The People opened fire, and strongly urged the organization of a Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance Local by all the stone cutters against whom such a bourgeois guild manœuvre was attempted. Here was a case of "boring from without" simultaneous with the attempt to "bore from within." The "Volkszeitung" raised the hue and cry against that. It did not dare to deny the iniquity of the stone-cutters Union, but it considered still more iniquitous the plan to at all bore from without. It claimed that the boring should be done from within ALONE. How that could be done by the men who were excluded, the sapient paper never explained.

The war was on, and the principle of boring from within ALONE developed into its full heinousness. It developed into what it could not choose but develop. It developed into turning alleged Socialists into train-bearers for the labor fakirs, the capitalist agents in the Union. "Boring from within" thus became tantamount to silence on, indulgence towards, and presently approval of fakirism. The privately owned press of the said so-called Socialist party suppressed the iniquities of the labor fakir; they went further, Max S. Hayes of the said party greeted with "Good, well done!" in his "Cleveland Citizen" the summary expulsion of Charles Corregan by the Syracuse Local of Hayes' International Typographical Union for the exercise of free speech in criticising the fakirs of his organization, and without the semblance even of a trial; they went still further, the "Volkszeitung" reproduced, flaming head-lines and all, the capitalist articles that jubilated over the court's decision against Corregan when he brought suit against the body of men who sought to deprive him of his civic rights and of bread, to boot; they went still further, when Corregan appealed from this decision and finally won out and had to be re-instated, they, the said so-called Socialist party press, shared with the whole and previously jubilant capitalist press the silence of the grave at the news; they went still further, with the said Hayes at their head, who is also the editor of the "World of Labor" column in the also privately owned "International Socialist Review", they have regularly echoed the damnable false claims of victory with which the fakirs seek to cheat the workers at a distance from the place where they suffer defeat, as the said Hayes did in the case of the Chicago stock-yard strike, where the A. F. of L. received the regulation knockdown and Hayes echoed the regulation fakirs' cry of triumph; they went even further, and they capped the climax at their national convention by fawning on the miscreant fakirs and cheering the manœuvres of these, so disastrous to the workers, by styling the manœuvres a "noble waging of the class struggle"!—That is "boring from within", the policy of seeking fakir's friendship (and cash?) by such a conduct within the Union as would never incommode the labor-lieutenants of the capitalist class. The "boring from within" of the so-called Socialist party meant, accordingly, boring from within ALONE.—This also will be found fully explained in the De Leon-Harriman debate.

The capitalist class would care little for a Socialist organization that would limit itself to boring from within the capitalist parties, but never set up a party of itself to supplement the "boring from within" with the "boring from without." Without the simultaneous "boring from without", all "boring from within" ends in corruption. The militant Socialist bores from WITHIN and from WITHOUT.

Clearness upon these terms is essential at this season. Despite the confusion interestedly created by vicious elements, the terms are now generally well understood. How well understood the terms are now, and how successful the Socialist Labor Party has been in pillorying both to the execration of the serious element in the Labor Movement, may be judged from the Chicago Manifesto. The men who called together the conference from which the Manifesto issued, and who in the conference held the language reported by Frank Bohn, are "on to" both "pure and simpledom" and "boring from within." The convention will, it is to be hoped, turn over and keep down for good and all, the old leaf that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, jointly with the Socialist Labor Party, has for all these years been struggling to turn over and keep down upon the, to the Socialist Movement, vital Question of Trades Unionism, against the combined hostilities of "pure and simpledom" and of the "boring from within" so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party.

PATERSON PROGRESS.

Section Passaic County's Varied Activities Bring Good Results.

Paterson, N. J., Feb. 20.—Passaic County Section, Socialist Labor Party, is holding one business meeting a month, the first Friday evening. The third Friday evening is devoted to discussion, the remaining Friday evenings are devoted to an educational study of the pamphlet, "The Working Class," which has proven very interesting to all, as the attendance demonstrates. The topics for discussion meetings have been "Trades Unionism," and "The Chicago Conference." We find these meetings to be productive of good results as they induce the members to take part and bid fair to make speakers in the near future.

We are also holding free lectures every Sunday afternoon, beginning February 5, with Comrade De Leon as lecturer, at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten street, this city. The hall was crowded, even the standing room being taken. Perfect quiet and attention prevailed during this lecture on the attitude of the S. L. P., or "Are We At Bulgaria or Italy?" demonstrating that the working people are becoming aroused.

The second of the course of lectures was delivered by Comrade Gillhaus, February 12, subject: "Trades Unionism, New and Old." The day was very stormy, still a good-sized audience paid careful attention to the speaker.

The third was delivered yesterday, February 19, by Comrade Vaughan, subject: "Attitude of Political Parties Toward the Labor Question," which was in keeping with the previous lectures. Next Sunday, Comrade Chase has been engaged to lecture on "Socialist Organization."

The following Sunday, March 5, Comrade Magnette has been secured to lecture on "The Need of Workingmen to Organize on the Economic Field."

Negotiations are in progress to organize a branch of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, after the lecture. A long list of signatures of Party members and others has been presented to District 4, asking that an S. T. & L. A. organization be formed here.

Fraternally,
R. Berdan.

DETROIT RUSSIAN DEMONSTRATION.

A monster demonstration in sympathy with the Russian Revolutionists, and to denounce the massacre and hanging of Russian and Polish strikers and demonstrators, will be held at Arbbiter Hall, corner Catherine and Russell streets, Detroit, Mich., on Sunday, March 5, at 3 p. m. under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party.

Boris Reinstein, of Buffalo, will speak in Polish; L. Goldburg, of New York, in Jewish; Herman Richter, in German, and Meiko Meyer in English. Admission free.

Workingmen, their cause is your cause. Be sure to attend.

CALL TO CIGARMAKERS

To Leave the Old Capitalist Trades Unionism for the New Labor Unionism.

All of you who feel the smart of the abject condition into which you are thrust, all of you who are intelligent enough to perceive that your condition is the net result of the economic and political tyranny of the capitalist class, coupled with the false principles of your organization and the criminal, corrupt leadership of the International Union, all of you who are brave enough to take the only stand that can possibly lead to relief and ultimate freedom from the galling double-yoke of the capitalist exploiter and the vampire labor fakir, to all of you employed in the cigar manufacturing industry we address these words:

When we peruse the pages of history we observe that all new ideas were met with scorn and abuse. At the beginning of the Christian Era their preachings were derided; when they grew stronger they were attacked and misrepresented, by some out of viciousness, by others out of ignorance. In the fifteenth century when the reform wave was sweeping through Europe, its followers were dubbed "Heretics" and hounded as such throughout Europe. When Galileo proclaimed that "It revolves," he was persecuted by some who knew he spoke the truth, but were too cowardly to face prejudice. You Bohemian fellow-cigarmakers know the tragic end of your countryman, John Huss, for daring to advocate a new idea.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.

In 1898 the Pioneer Cigarmakers' Union was formed, the leaders of the old and decrepit organization were laying different snares in order to entrap and annihilate the young but rising giant organization of the cigarmakers, and, if possible, to poison the minds of the rank and file, by arousing their prejudice against it. Their first move was the Seidenberg affair.

In Seidenberg they called a bogus strike. First, they called out all the employes of the factory on strike, among whom were a number of "Pioneer" members. While the Pioneer members were striking with the non-members, the "International" settled the strike behind their backs—declared the shop an "International" place—shut the door in the face of the "Pioneer" members and left them out in the cold. They are the worthy children of their parent body, the American Federation of Labor, who, as we are told by Geo. Estes, in the "Voice of Labor", of February, 1905, called a "fake" strike of their own members, knowing that the American Labor Union men will not scab on principle, and will attempt to pull the American Labor Union men out on strike with them, and then arrange, if not already prearranged, with the employer, if possible, to put their own men back to work, regardless of conditions they work under, and leave the American Labor Union men out, so as to destroy the American Labor Union unions in that way.

THE DAVIS AFFAIR.

In 1900, the "International Cigarmakers' Union" called a meeting of the employes of Davis' factory, which was composed of about a hundred and fifty cigarmakers, about sixteen of the same were members of the "International." The representative of the International submitted the question of strike to a vote, with the result that the sixteen members of the International voted strike, while eighty-eight voted no strike. Another vote was taken, on the claim that some irregularities crept in while the vote was being taken. The result of that second vote turned against the expectation of the International henchmen: the vote remained sixteen for and eighty-eight against strike. The International representative shouted in the language of a Russian autocrat: "It matters not whether you vote for a strike or against it. This strike is ordered by the 'International Cigarmakers' Union' and you'll have to strike, whether you like it or not!"

When the cigarmakers heard the bravado speech of this "International" Sam Parks, they declared, indignantly, since we are not members of the "International" it has no right to order us on strike, and they went back to work. Whereupon the Labor Czar flashed his best trump and said: "Any one who dares to disobey our orders and return to work will be branded as a 'scab.'" This threat was sufficient to frighten many from going back to work. But about half of the cigarmakers who thought they did not live in Russia, but in the United States of America, and it was for them to decide when to strike, returned to work.

Knowing the Pioneer Cigar Makers' Union to be a bona-fide organization of their trade and that it would not allow such high-handed methods to be perpetrated on the cigarmakers, if it can help it, these cigarmakers appeared at a meeting of the "Pioneer Cigar Makers" and complained of the treatment received at the hands of the "International" because they refused to bend their knees to its dictates. When those men were heard, the "Pioneers" elected a committee with instructions to investigate the whole matter, and if found as stated, they were given full power to organize the employes of said factory. We challenge any and all representatives of the "International Cigar Makers' Union" to a public debate before cigarmakers, to disprove the above statement. We are willing to bear all expenses incurred.

Fellow cigarmakers, these are the facts of the Davis affair, with which they have tried to poison your minds against us. It was another case of "Stop thief."

WHY WE FIGHT THE INTERNATIONAL CIGAR MAKERS' UNION.

We recognize the necessity of the economic organization of the working class, which the International never was, is not at present, and never will be in the future. The International is a capitalist organization, in the first place, and an insurance society on a small scale at a higher price than the larger ones charge, in the second. According to the July, 1904, financial report, published in the "Cigarmakers' Journal," it spends more money in six months on dead members than it will spend on live ones in the next ten years. It seems to be busy in this occupation, for the death rate among cigarmakers is larger than any other trade, with the exception of the millers. If the cigarmakers will wake up they'll smash the organization whose mission is to bury them, and join an organization that will defend them and carry on the fight while they are alive.

But, if the "International" would simply be a benevolent and insurance society, we wouldn't have much to quarrel with it, but when it tries to appear as a labor organization while it clings to capitalistic traditions and ideas, and is built on a foundation upon which every capitalist organization can safely stand, not only does it not fight for the interest of the cigarmakers, nay, more, it smothers the revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm, with which the working class must be animated in order to bring about its own emancipation.

Their Moses is leading them in the capitalist desert for the last forty years, without distributing manna to his followers, but shares it with his Gods, the capitalists of the Civic Federation, which is headed by August Belmont, the representative of the Rothschilds in this country. While you cigarmakers are working at the bench under miserable conditions and your families are pining and starving, your leaders sit at the banquet tables with the Belmonts, Carnegies, Strauses. By the clinking of champagne glasses and the fumes of clear Havana cigars, they decide your faith, with the seal of your masters.

The history of the "International" is as black as charcoal; its pages are blotted with the foulest crimes against the cigarmakers. Its present existence is the result of the piratic methods and scabby actions that it used against the "Knights of Labor" cigarmakers, and down to 1901, when the La Resistancia was engaged in a strike in Tampa, Fla., when they issued a circular to the manufacturers in which they charged the La Resistancia members with being a pack of foreigners and Anarchists, who would not give notice before declaring a strike; thereby causing great damage to the manufacturers. Can an organization that uses this sort of methods be called a labor union? Yet sane men are called honest, and honest men sane, who look upon it as such.

THE KERBS STRIKE.

During this strike the "Pioneers" raised a voice of protest in a Cooper Union meeting against the shameless betrayal of the cigarmakers by the "International." At that meeting the "International" was charged with allowing their members to work in the annexed shops, thereby scabbing it against the strikers: with continuing a strike they knew to be lost, thereby unnecessarily bleeding their members: with continuing

(Continued on page 6.)

FOURTH EXPLOSION

MORE TO COME

The following self-explanatory and important letter was received by The People on Wednesday, February 22. It was mailed in Detroit, Mich., on Tuesday, February 21:

United Metal Workers International Union.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

A. W. I. & M. W. Union No. 4.

Mr. Editor.—Having voted unanimously to withdraw from the American Federation of Labor, the Architectural Wire, Iron and Metal Workers' Local Union No. 4 of Detroit, Mich., affiliated with the United Metal Workers International Union of America, voted to announce to the organized and the unorganized toilers of the world that we have withdrawn our support of "anything that smacks of the A. F. of L."

We are discussing the Manifesto issued by a conference at Chicago, January 4, 1905, and while we may call attention to many serious flaws contained therein, are aware of the magnitude of so important an undertaking. Yet we recognize the possibilities of such a convention as called for Chicago, June 27, 1905, the importance of which depends upon the character of the men of whom this convention will be composed; the caliber of which depends upon the individual effort and support of every honest worker who must be interested in the emancipation of his class.

No definite action is to be taken by Local No. 4, until we have reviewed the result of said coming convention.

Are you doing your part?
Labor press kindly copy.
(Sealed and signed)
O. Kloenhamer,
Rec. Sec.
77 Grensel avenue, Detroit, Mich.

CONGRESSIONAL

GIVE-AWAY UTTERANCES IN DEBATE ON NAVAL APPROPRIATIONS.

Remarkable Utterances Made On the Wastefulness and Inhumanity of the Government While Humanity Is Left to Suffer, Men women and Little Children Bearing the Burden.

The House debate on the Naval Appropriation bill should constitute a special page for the historian who will undertake the description of the suicidal nature of capitalist society, of how capitalism—after having conjured up the forces that enable wealth to be produced at a phenomenal rate and thereby furnishes one of the conditions precedent for Socialism, or the emancipation of the human race—goes about and cancels the fruit of its labors by squandering large quantities of the wealth that it produces and turning that wealth into implements of destruction and of human bestialization. The House debate on the Naval Appropriation brings out the fact. It brings it out indirectly by the hugeness of the appropriations that the bill demands, and it brings it out also directly. Curious enough the indirect proof it brought out by the visionaries who, while upholding capitalism, find fault with its unavoidable consequences. It is brought out by the blind Cassandras whose minds' eyes see the woe that is approaching. The House debate on the Naval Appropriation bill is rendered valuable by the speeches made by these blind Cassandras.

The screeches of the Cassandras were numerous. Representative Jack Beall of Texas, however, screeched a screech that may be said to condense them all. Here it is:

"During twenty years we will have spent $800,000,000 upon our Navy. If this sum had been left among the people and spent for education it would have put a new song into the mouth of this nation and made it sweep to heights of mental and moral grandeur not dreamed of before. If it had been expended in the development of agriculture, trade, and commerce, it would have made the deserts bloom, the barren fields fertile, the wheels of industry to turn in a very ecstasy of delight. If spent for humanity, it would have opened the door of poor-houses and closed up the doors of vice; it would have kindled a new light in the eyes of little children and lifted from the backs of weary women heavy burdens of woe; it would have helped to bring heaven so close to earth that her weary ones could catch some of its radiance. But spent upon great ships and great guns, it may curse us in the days to come."

Correct! And yet half of the story is not yet told.

Freedom could not be until the wealth producible was so ample as to furnish abundance to all, so that leisure could be enjoyed, and want and the fear of want no longer need to pleague man. Such an ideal condition of things was impossible until the present stage of machinery was reached which enables the needed quantity of wealth to be produced without excessive labor. The mechanism of production that can bring forth the needed quantity of wealth with little labor accomplishes simultaneously two things that go to elevate the race. One of these things is to raise the individual above the stage of the brute, in that he needs no longer to grub all his life for the mere necessaries of life, as animals have to do; the second thing is that it welds the several individuals together, forces them to co-operate, binds their weapons of production, thitherto used against one another, into one harmonious weapon that is turned against Nature alone and forces her to yield her treasures to mankind, in short makes the brotherhood of man a practical fact. All these things capitalism has brought on—as a possibility, but all these things capitalism smashes over the head by the law of its own existence. Thus millions upon millions of wealth are turned to purposes of butchery, to purposes of keeping man a foe to man, to purposes of oppression.

While the blind Cassandras in the House of Representatives moan in impotence, the Socialists of the land are i telligently at work to remove the i cubas of Capitalism.

IN AID OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONISTS.

The N. E. C. sub-committee of the Socialist Labor Party instructed the undersigned to issue a call to the members and friends of the S. L. P. for contributions in aid of the Revolutionary Movement in Russia, such contributions to be forwarded to the Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia, with head arters at Geneva, Switzerland.

The great historic drama that is now unfolding itself in that most backward of the countries of Europe, excites the interest of the civilized world. That the Revolution is on in earnest can no longer be doubted and that it will succeed in bringing about great changes in the political and economic conditions, not only in Russia, but of every other European country, seems equally certain. The Revolutionary Socialists of Russia are in the fight, and, to the extent that they can be aided from without, will they be able to make felt and to insure the i terest of Russia's working class, a against autocracy, capitalism, and middl class political reformists.

Contributions should be addressed to the undersigned and will be credited in the Daily and Weekly People once a week.

Fraternally,
Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.
2-6 New Reade Street, New York City.

NOTICE!

To the Public, Kansas in Particular.

Selig Schulberg, alias Bush, has no authority to receive subscriptions or in any way act as agent for THE PEOPLE, either the Daily or Weekly. The man is in no way connected with this office; and this office has no connection with him and refuses to have any.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe

ROBERT RANDELL'S ANSWER

To John Mitchell, Labor Lieutenant of the Capitalist Class

WHAT STARTED THE CONTROVERSY.

The controversy at the United Mine Workers' national convention at Indianapolis, wherein John Mitchell was "vindicated" in regard to his actions in the Colorado-Utah coal strike, and the writer of this article expelled from the United Mine Workers of America for the crime of "lese majesty" against "the little tin labor god", John Mitchell, began on the afternoon of January 18, when a resolution was read from Local Union No. 728, Mt. Olive, Illinois, asking that "Our National President or any one affiliated with the U. M. W. of A. sever all connection with the Civic Federation."

Patrick Dolan, of Pittsburg, "who boasts of having never read a book on political economy and proves it by his ignorance," made the surprising assertion that outside of the "labor leaders" the moving spirits of the Civic Federation are "philanthropists." To enlighten Mr. Dolan I said, "Outside of the 'labor leaders' the most prominent members of the Civic Federation are men like Grover Cleveland, 'Scab Hero' Eliot, Frank Robbins, president of the Pittsburg Coal Co., who has made millions out of the pauperized miners of America, and Andrew Carnegie, whose hands are red with the blood of the Homestead strikers."

A bomb thrown into the convention would not have caused more commotion. John Mitchell sprang to his feet and said that he had heard of "this man Randell from Wyoming"; said that I had said in the Dietz, Wyoming, local union that he (Mitchell) had sold out the Colorado strike, and defied me to make such sacreligious statements in his holy presence.

My letters, papers and documents being then in the hands of a typewriter, who was typewriting the speech I had prepared on the Colorado-Utah coal strike, I sat as still and quiet as a little mouse the remainder of the afternoon session.

John Mitchell was happy in the belief that he had annihilated, crushed and paralyzed me. The delegates that evening were talking among themselves about the "delegate from Dietz" who had tried to make a "bad man" of himself in the wilds of Wyoming, but when he arrived in Indianapolis and stood in the august presence of the "greatest labor leader the world has even known," his tongue clove to the roof of his mouth, and his "knees trembled and smote one another."

When the convention was called to order at 9 o'clock the next morning by John Mitchell, I asked for the floor and gave the delegates the address as published in the Daily People of Sunday, February 5, and the Weekly People of February 11.

MITCHELL'S DEFENSE OF THE CIVIC FEDERATION.

Before reviewing the national officers' attempt to tear my arguments to pieces, let me review John Mitchell's defence of the Civic Federation.

He said that Frank Robbins had given $5,000 to the anthracite strikers. If so, it was because he was getting from $2 to $4 more per ton for his bituminous coal while the anthracite mines were closed. If Frank Robbins' miners would go on strike to-day, would Frank Robbins show his friendship to organized labor by donating $5,000 to the United Mine Workers? In the Pittsburg Dispatch, of June 7, 1904, is the following, referring to a banquet given by Frank Robbins to Mitchell and Dodds:

"The banquet was in honor of John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, and District Secretary William Dodds, to wish the two Godspeed on a European tour they are about to make in the interest of their organization. Even Mitchell joined in the tribute to Robbins, which was taken up by others."

* * * * * *

"Mitchell and Dodds were presented with diamond mementoes of the esteem of the operators and miners."

Mitchell said that "'Andrew Carnegie is not a prominent member of the Civic Federation." If not why was John Mitchell on a committee a short time ago begging Andrew Carnegie to accept the presidency of the Civic Federation?

In the United Mine Workers' Journal—the official organ of the U. M. W. of A.—of Thursday, December 22, 1904, is a three-column portrait of August Belmont, president of the Civic Federation. And who is August Belmont—plutocrat banker, and American representative of the Rothchilds, who, with J. P. Morgan, made $8,000,-000 out of one of Grover Cleveland's gold bond issues; member of New York's most aristocratic clubs, labor crusher, lives in a palace on Fifth avenue, and wants the wealth producers to live in the back alley tenements.

In Harper's Weekly of December 31, 1904, is a full page picture of the banquet given by the Civic Federation at the Park Avenue Hotel, New York. The discerning eye gazing upon the picture of that sumptuous feast may be able to discover the countenance of Marcus M. Marks, who will be long remembered for his fight against the garment workers' union; O. M. Eidlitz, ditto, New York Building Trades; George A. Fuller, ditto, bridge and structural iron workers; Secretary Easley, who sacrifices himself to "maintain friendly relations between capital and labor," for $10,000 a year; August Belmont, the newly elected president; H. H. Vreeland, the newly elected chairman of the welfare department—H. H. Vreeland, with the union-smashing record; Frank Robbins, chairman of the trade agreement committee—Frank Robbins, who told the miners in the joint scale committee in Indianapolis one short year ago that if his union miners struck he had enough non-union miners to fill his contracts—Frank Robbins, who gave John Mitchell the "diamond mementoes"; and President Eliot, who thrice publicly declared the "scab a hero", newly elected, "on motion of Gompers", chairman of the department of industrial economics. Andrew Carnegie sent a long letter saying he was unwell—probably worrying over the strikes at his mills in Youngstown and Girard, Ohio, against a reduction in wages.

No wonder John Mitchell is a little sensitive when the Civic Federation is discussed. No wonder his wrath gets the better of his judgment when the mask of hypocrisy is pulled from the Civic Federation, and his treason to the coal miners of America is exposed.

THE FOUR CHARGES THAT MITCHELL DID NOT ANSWER.

As soon as I had finished my address John Mitchell turned all his heavy artillery, all his "machine guns" and even his little rapid fire bean shooter, "Comrade" Jones, of Wyoming, upon my arguments and for one day and a half thundered away with denunciations, invective, distorted facts, misquotations, and deliberate falsehoods, at my statements. Let us see the result of their one and a half days' terrific verbal bombardment.

The four direct charges made by me against John Mitchell in the convention were as follows:

First—That the organization, through John Mitchell, played the unorganized miners of Southern Colorado false in promising them support of the union miners of Northern Colorado, and then forcing the Northern miners, against their wishes, to return to work and defeat the Southern miners.

Second—That in forcing the Northern miners to return to work, by threat of withdrawing support, he violated the principles and constitution of our organization and proved himself to be an autocrat and dictator.

Third—That in promising the Southern miners ample support in the strike call of November 9, 1903, and telling them to "Strike, strike, and strike until you win, if it takes five years," and then in refusing them sufficient support and finally in stopping it altogether, you placed a shameful blot upon our organization and proved yourself to be a greater enemy to the miners of Colorado, New Mexico and Utah than the inhuman coal companies themselves.

Fourth—That in entering into an unholy deal with the Northern Coal Co. at the behest of the Denver Citizens' Alliance, and in dining with the Denver Citizens' Alliance and the Peabody Law and Order League at the Chamber of Commerce in Denver, December 5, 1904, you proved yourself a traitor to the working class.

SILENCE NO DENIAL OF JUDAS CONDUCT.

(1.) On the first charge—treason to the Southern miners—absolutely nothing was said by John Mitchell or any national officer. It can not be successfully denied, that when John Mitchell forced the Northern Colorado miners to return to work to win the smiles of the Northern Coal Co. and the Denver Citizens' Alliance, he played the part of a Judas to the Southern miners. It is a blot upon the U. M. W. of A. that all the applause for John Mitchell can never wipe out.

(2.) Nothing was said about the second charge—of John Mitchell forcing the Northern miners to return to work by the threat of withdrawing support and cutting them off from the organization. I challenged John Mitchell to prove that it was the miners, the local or district officers, the National Executive Board member or even his own national organizers that induced him to force the Northern Colorado strike committee into a conference with the Northern Coal Co. I asserted that it was the Northern Coal Co., backed by the Denver Citizens' Alliance and the Southern Colorado Coal Companies. He did not answer it. The only answer he can give is to admit that it was the Northern Coal Co. and its allies.

Nothing was said about forcing the Northern miners to take the four (4) referendum votes on the question of returning to work. Nothing was said about John F. Reams visiting the local unions and inducing them to go on record, one at a time, as favoring a settlement—a thing they had refused to do in a body. **And nothing will ever be said about it!**

Nothing was said of sending word, indirectly, to the Northern miners, that unless they returned to work, their support would be cut off, except the vague hint that it was the work of the National Executive Board and not of John Mitchell. As the National Executive Board was not in session at that time, the attempt of Mitchell to throw it upon them is peculiar. It appears to me that the National Executive Board of the U. M. W. of A. must be a patient lot of asses. It will be remembered that during the anthracite strike, when there was some honor to be divided, John Mitchell was perfectly willing to grab it all, but in the Colorado-Utah strike he shuffles all the blame on the National Executive Board. On the second charge, John Mitchell has yet to prove that he did not violate the principles and constitution of our organization and proved himself an autocrat and a dictator.

FOR MITCHELL'S MONUMENT—"63 CENTS PER WEEK."

(3.) John Mitchell denied that he had said "Strike, strike, and strike until you win, if it takes five years."

William Price, Sub-District No. 5. "I believe in following the words of John Mitchell: 'Strike, until you win, if takes five years'." —Proceedings of the 4th Annual Convention of District 15, page 52.

At Scofield, Utah, handbills were distributed around town promising the miners support for three years, if necessary. How well the organization has kept its promise can be seen from the following circular letter in the issue of the Salt Lake, Utah, "Crisis", of January 13, 1905:

"APPEAL FOR AID: SUB-DISTRICT NO. 3 OF DISTRICT NO. 15, U. M. W. OF AMERICA.

"To the Public:—The struggle between the mine workers and the Utah Fuel Company of Carbon county, Utah, is known to almost every person in the country, the arrogant position of the company, the privation and hardships endured by the mine workers and their families since November, 1903, is a matter of history, and we are still on the battlefield.

"The fact of our ability to continue this strike in Carbon county is owing to the generous response on the part of our brothers elsewhere to our appeal for aid.

"We are forced to again make an appeal to you, and you will not regret complying with it, if you who are enjoying the benefits of working where organization exists will enable us to again be able to say we are working under the emblem of justice—the emblem of the United Mine Workers of America.

"All we ask is bread to live on, and we will attend to the rest.

"To return to work now unrecognized as an organization, means to return to a worse condition of slavery than existed before the strike.

"To leave the camps means to lose all our homes, and allow the company to collect the rents from them. And all this after fourteen months' fight and suffering the most cruel hardships and privations.

"Help us, brothers! Do not let the Utah Fuel Company make good their boast that they will have no dealings with organized labor.

"We will with a victory have and hold the noble and just emblem of the U. M. W. of America.

"With your aid and assistance we can get most of those that are working to quit.

"The product of the mines is only a third of what it was before the strike.

"The mines are in the worst possible condition.

"With help from you, brothers, we will yet win a victory. This appeal is signed by the officers of our union in behalf of 134 men, seventy-four women and 171 children, who have suffered, and are still suffering, untold miseries because of our loyalty to the principles of unionism.

"Send all funds to Celeste Delpiaz, Helper, Utah.

CELESTE DELPIAZ, president.
CARLO GIACOMO, secretary."

These people have had no assistance from the United Mine Workers since July 1, 1904. If John Mitchell was not dead to every sense of justice he would aid these people until a victory is won.

John Mitchell and the national officers spent nearly a day and-a-half trying to make it appear that the strikers were well supported, but the facts—compiled from official records—are as follows: During the winter months of November and December, 1903, and January, 1904, 19,000 men, women and children, who had been ejected from their homes by the soldiers and deputies and had in many cases lost their furniture, clothing and bedding, were living on 63 cents per week. Out of this sum they were compelled to pay rent or buy tents, buy food, clothing and fuel.

The coal miners of the West will some day erect a monument to John Mitchell and have carved thereupon: "63 CENTS PER WEEK."

All the encomiums heaped upon John Mitchell by capitalistic newspapers, eminent divines, Frank Robbins, "Scab Hero" Eliot, Andrew Carnegie and the strenous strenuosity in the White House cannot prevent the fact going down in the history of the Western coal miners that Mitchell proved himself a greater enemy to them than are even the inhuman coal companies.

ONE [BLOOD] WAS ENOUGH.

(4.) John Mitchell denied that he dined with the Denver Citizens' Alliance at a banquet given by the Chamber of Commerce in Denver, December 5, 1903, but admitted that there "might have been a few members of the alliance present."

James H. Blood, attorney for the Denver Citizens' Alliance, has been very successful in settling strikes in Colorado the past few years. On April 17, 1903, the miners of Northern Colorado held a mass meeting at Louisville, and voted that, after the first of May, they would only work 8 hours. In the conferences that followed between the Northern Colorado Sub-District Board and the Northern Coal Operators, James H. Blood represented the Northern Coal Co. How successful he was in "settling" the strike can be seen from the following, taken verbatim from the annual address of John C. Sullivan, President of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, to the convention of the State Federation of Labor, 1903:

"COAL MINERS NORTHERN FIELD.

"About the middle of April the coal miners of the Northern field notified the coal operators that on the first day of May an eight-hour day woud be demanded. Some of the operators (nearly half) were willing to adopt an eight-hour day without question, but the adoption of an eight-hour day was opposed by some of the companies, and with the assistance of the managers of the Citizens' Alliance the unions were persuaded to withdraw their demands, so the benefits of an eight-hour day in the Northern coal field are not to be enjoyed by the coal miners for the present at least."

I was a member of the Sub-District Board, representing the Superior Local Union at that time, and attended the conferences wherein James H. Blood "persuaded" us to withdraw our demands and I know that the statements made by John C. Sullivan are true.

James H. Blood acted as the representative of the Denver Citizens' Alliance during the great sympathetic strike of all the trades in Denver, in May 1903, and with the able assistance of M. Grant Hamilton and Max Morris of the American Federation of Labor succeeded in making a "settlement" that practically destroyed the usefullness of the unions.

In Idaho Springs, Telluride, Cripple Creek and the Southern coal fields, the Citizens' Alliance used six-shooters, Gatling guns and Krag-Jorgensons. In Denver and the Northern coal fields, the Citizens' Alliance used flattery, hypocrisy, and ways that are dark and devious.

PROOF THAT COAL FAMINE WAS IMMINENT.

Having reviewed the four main charges against John Mitchell and the answers thereto, I will now answer some of the scattering statements made by him and other national officers.

I distinctly stated that I spoke only as a Colorado miner—one from the rank and file—and did not claim to represent them officially, or the Socialist party, or the Western Federation of Miners. It appears to me that the national officers should have held a caucus and decided upon what organization I represented. John Mitchell claimed I represented the Colorado State Federation of Labor, secretary Wilson the Socialist party, Lewis and Reams the W. F. M., "Comrade" Jones, the anarchist club at Dietz, Wyoming, and I certainly expected that Pat Dolan would claim that I represented the A. P. A.

John Mitchell and others denied that there was any danger of a coal famine before the Northern miners returned to work and asserted that "the miners of Northern Colorado only worked half time after they returned to work". This is absolutely untrue. I was one of the miners forced by John Mitchell to go to work in Northern Colorado, and any Northern miner will bear me out in the statement that for six weeks after we returned to work—until the market was relieved—we worked every day and never before was there such an enormous output in Northern Colorado.

Mitchell said that the Northern lignite coal cannot be used for steam purposes—an absurd and ridiculous statement.

Mitchell asserted, as a crushing argument, that there could have been no coal famine in Colorado; that all the coal necessary could be shipped from Kansas and Missouri. True, but Kansas and Missouri coal can not be retailed to the consumer in Denver at less than $10 per ton, and in the metaliferous mining and smelting districts Creed, Ouray, Cripple Creek, Leadville, Grand Junction, Idaho Springs, Boulder etc., at less than $11 to $14 per ton.

Denver Post, November 18, 1903: "Many of the dealers agree that the coal (Kansas and Missouri coal) would cost the consumer at least $10.50 a ton." (in Denver).

Denver Post, November 25, 1903: "The coal scalper is selling the poor people coal at $16.75 per ton" (in 100 pound quantities).

Denver Post, November 18, 1903: "It is asserted this morning that the Denver Gas and Electric Co. has but two days supply of coal and every effort to get a full supply has failed. Unless the company can get fuel within the next two days, Denver will be in darkness Saturday night."

Denver News, November 26, 1903: "Coal has actually advanced to $10 per ton."

"Denver, Colo, Nov. 19, 1903.

"Mr. Robert Randell,
"Superior, Colo.

"Dear Sir and Brother:—Can you send me by mail an envelope full of coal? Am all out at my house. Have had an order in for coal for two weeks. They have been promising to deliver every day but they don't make good.

"Yours fraternally,
"Harry B. Waters."

(Extract from letter from Harry B. Waters, Secretary-Treasurer of the Colorado State Federation of Labor.)

"EXPENDITURES" THAT ARE IN THE TREASURY.

The fact remains that, had not John Mitchell forced the Northern miners to return to work, the Southern Colorado miners would have won a victory; a victory that would have been a victory for themselves and all the western miners.

On page 28 of Secretary-Treasurer Wilson's Annual Report in the "Miscellaneous Resources" is this item: "September 15, Aid Refunded District 15, $30,000." While it is perfectly proper for Mr. Wilson to put the $30,000 under "Miscellaneous Resources", yet the national officers of the U. M. W. of A. should not boast, as they are doing, that $30,000 was expended in Colorado that is to-day in the national treasury!

Mitchell attempts to deny that he had tried to prevent the local unions of the East from giving assistance to either the coal or metaliferous miners of the West. He cannot successfully do so. Will he show when or where he ever by word or action encouraged the Eastern local unions to contribute?

But in spite of all the underhanded work of John Mitchell, many of the local unions of the East were generous to both the coal and metaliferous miners of the West. And their generosity will never be forgotten by the Western miners.

John Mitchell took offense because I said he had made me "scab" in Northern Colorado. The Northern miners being forced to return to work, dug the coal that filled the markets of their Southern brothers and defeated them. I believe that, when I dug coal to defeat the Southern miners, I "scabbed"—even if I did have the consent of John Mitchell, the "greatest labor leader the world has ever known".

WHY DOESN'T JOHN MITCHELL PROSECUTE HOWELLS, SIMPSON AND GEHR?

John Mitchell went out of his way to attack the character of ex-President Wm. Howells, and ex-National Executive Board member John L. Gehr, of District 15. John Mitchell, in order to cover his own infamous actions in the Colorado-Utah strike, has spread broadcast throughout the country by his organizers and national board members the story that William Howells, John Simpson and John L. Gehr misappropriated thousands of dollars sent to the strikers. If so, John Mitchell owes it to his organization to prosecute these men in the courts.

I respectfully ask John Mitchell to either begin prosecution in the courts against these ex-officers of District 15, or publicly retract his infamous charges.

John Mitchell would never have made such charges had the ex-district officers been present in the convention.

His attack on them was the act of a coward, and can be expected from one who is trying to shift the blame of a lost strike upon district officers, who have always fought faithfully for the best interest of the organization. I will add that, had the policy of the district officers not been overruled by John Mitchell in the intolerant and bigoted manner of an autocrat, there is little doubt but that the strike would have been won.

ADDING INSULT TO MINERS' INJURY.

John Mitchell boasted of his reception when visiting the striking miners of Southern Colorado—he spent two whole days in the strike districts during the strike! That was shortly after the strike was called and before they realized they had been betrayed. John Mitchell does not dare to show himself in a mining camp of Southern Colorado or Utah to-day.

John Mitchell and other officers said that "the miners lost the strike because they were not true to the union", that they wanted "turkey during the strike", that they would not "put up their tents unless paid for it", and other gratuitous insults. It is bitter enough for the Western coal miners to lose their hard fought strike without the national officers of United Mine Workers, in the moment of defeat, heaping insults upon these brave men who struggled eleven months for justice.

I venture the prediction that the Western coal miners will never again rally under the standard of the U. M. W. of A. while John Mitchell is president. The language used in the national convention will drive the Western coal miners into the Western Federation of Miners. If so, let the members of the U. M. W. of A. always remember that there is no one to blame but John Mitchell.

JOHN WALKER AND "COMRADE" JONES.

Much has been said concerning John Walker, "floor leader of the Socialists", as heralded by the capitalistic press. John Walker could not produce his Socialist due card, and I doubt very much if he is a party member in good standing. He allowed himself to be made a tool by Mitchell, who is utterly opposed to Socialism, to throw it upon the Socialist Party. John Walker drew $1,113.18 last year from John Mitchell and was only his tool in that convention.

In regard to "Comrade" Jones of my local union who went out of his way to insult the miners of Aldridge, Montana, and was so ready and anxious to bob up to attack me whenever his master, John Mitchell, nodded his head, this much should be said:

The coal miners of Aldrige, Montana, have always been loyal members of the Western Federation of Miners—the organization of the metal miners, mill and smeltermen of the West. A class-conscious labor organization, believing in the sympathetic strike, founded upon the class struggle and pledged to the principles of Socialism, whose leaders never discuss the labor question over the banquet board with labor exploiters, the miners of Aldridge have been on strike since July 1, 1904, for $3.60 for 8 hours. There has not been a break in their ranks, and not a pound of coal is being taken out of the mine. Yet, "Comrade" Jones, because they will not join the U. M. W. of A., vents his spleen upon them by calling them scabs. These "scabs" sent money to the anthracite strikers and gave $1,707 to the Cripple Creek and Telluride miners. "Comrade" Jones was always bobbing up on the floor of the convention to defend John Mitchell in order to retain the good wishes of his "boss" and keep his $4 a day job as organizer. "Comrade" Jones has a special grudge against Socialists. And why, oh why! Eighteen months ago, he was one of the organizers of a Socialist local at Dietz, Wyoming. He signed the application blanks that all must sign to become members and gave his word of honor that he would not support a capitalist party. But last fall he was offered the nomination for State representative on the Democratic ticket and he promptly forgot his Socialistic principles—if he ever had any to forget! The Socialists at Dietz worked to defeat him and I am happy to say he was defeated. "Comrade" Jones is sore and should go to bed and nurse his sore spots. He still claims to be "90 per cent. Socialist." The woods are full of "Socialists" of the Jones kind who are afflicted with a peculiar form of disease, known as political hydrophobia, who are always ready to immolate themselves upon the altar to their country for the "long green". A labor skate who is "90 per cent. Socialist" and 10 per cent. "graft" is the most dangerous conglomeration that the Socialist party can be dosed with. "Comrade" Jones is a petty larceny political scab of the peanut variety.

The resolution, to expel me from the U. M. W. of A., was introduced by John Walker, of Illinois, and was not carried "almost unanimously", as reported.

MANLY CONDUCT OF MINERS' DELEGATES.

It is not true as the capitalist press stated that I could not have continued my speech "if it had not been for Mitchell." I was frequently applauded by the delegates, and those who believed that I was doing wrong were willing to hear me, with very few exceptions. I will always have the highest respect and kindly feeling for the great majority of the delegates to the convention.

What I said in the convention was said deliberately and with forethought. The "fiery tirade" hurled at Mitchell was prepared by the light of the midnight lamp, at Dietz, Wyoming. The attempt of Mitchell and others to make it appear that in making the point that Mitchell was the aggressor when his ruffled majesty attacked me on the Civic Federation question, I said that I had not come prepared to speak on the Colorado strike is absurd. If I gave any of the delegates that impression it was not intentionally.

I did what I believe was right. What will prevent Mitchell from betraying other districts in the manner he betrayed the Colorado-Utah district; what will awaken the rank and file of the United Mine Workers to the fact that they must immediately devise means to wrest control of the organization from the machine John Mitchell has built up with his salaried officers; what will be a benefit to my fellow miners and my class?

Although John Mitchell's machine expells me from the U. M. W. of A. and prevents me from earning a living at my trade under the jurisdiction of the U. M. W. of A., it cannot prevent me from standing in the ranks with my fellow miners and being a soldier in the proleterian revolution for the overthrow of industrial slavery and the emancipation of the disinherited masses.

I will be helping to fight the battle of my class when John Mitchell is living in luxury and ease off the money he has faked from the miners of America.

(Continued on page 3.)

Literary Review

THE CRIPPLE CREEK STRIKE.

One of the most remarkable books that has come to our notice is "The Cripple Creek Strike," of which Mrs. Emma F. Langdon, of Victor, Colo., is the author and publisher. The volume is a careful compilation of the official documents, both governmental and union, issued during the strike of 1903-1904 in the Cripple Creek gold mining district, with a narrative account of the events of the strike in chhronological order. The book is a compact one, and its 248 pages would make a volume twice that size had the methods of "up-to-date" publication been followed. So well has Mrs. Langdon done her work that the future historian of Colorado, who is animated with honesty of purpose, must have recourse to her history as a "source book." To have gathered the material and put it in shape would have been evidence enough of the patient and painstaking industry of the author, but she did more than that—very much more. The author is characteristically modest, effacing her personality, but at the close she offers an apology for any typographical and mechanical shortcomings that may be found, which the reader will readily excuse when he learns the difficulties that the indomitable author had to overcome to get the book out.

Had the "public" press been at all fair the author would never have attempted the book, but as the reports were invariably biased or distorted she determined that the strikers should have a voice and that it should be heard. The book is the work of this one woman—and she only an apprentice on the type-setting machine. She compiled the work, set the type, read the proofs, made the pictures from which many of the fifty illustrations are made, folded the books, and while getting out the book took care of her domestic work as usual, sewing, baking, washing and ironing and the other work that falls to the lot of a proletarian married woman. Aside from that she worked and earned sufficient money to pay the greater part of the expense of half-tone and press work. She attended the trials of her union brothers and fulfilled the duties of secretary and [illegible]ship. The indefatigable energy displayed by this woman certainly augurs well for the working class movement of the United States when it shall come to a knowledge of the direction in which its true interests lie.

I

In a historic sketch of the Cripple Creek, the greatest gold producing district of its area in the world, the author remarks that it is the bitterness and irony of fate that the early fortune seekers passed by when the riches of Golconda awaited the prospector's pick. In fact, they walked over the ground where are to-day some of the richest mines in the district. Gold was first discovered in 1889, but it was not until 890-91 that its true worth was appreciated. The panic of 1893 brought thousands of unemployed to the district, the fall in the price of silver making silver mining unprofitable. Gold mining was then resorted to although experts thought that gold could not be profitably worked in the district. The mountains soon became dotted with the little homes that the prospectors prepared for the wives and children that had been left behind. So rapidly did they grow that it became necessary to incorporate them into towns. But the pioneers were soon displaced by the capitalist for whom they had prepared the way. The old-fashioned windlass, slow methods and hand drills gave way to monster steam and electrical appliances. The railroads vied with each other in wonderful, and, before then, unheard of feats of engineering, in order to get the enormous ore transportation. Gigantic corporation capital now owns the district, the huts and cabins have grown into cities.

It is a little less than a dozen of years since the development of the Cripple Creek district began, yet so fiercely has the class struggle between the capitalists and the mine workers raged that twice the military forces of the State of Colorado have invaded the district. In the strike of 1894, says the author, Governor Waite ordered out the militia to protect the union men. In the infancy of the camp began the effort of the mine owners to reduce wages. This was no easy matter, at first. The metalliferous miner of the West is mainly of American birth, the foreign-born among them being Germans, Swedes and Irish. Many of the miners had been among those who had blazed the way in the Great West beyond the Rockies. In 1894 many of these men belonged to the union, but in that year the common danger that threatened alike the union and non-union miner caused the ranks of the Western Federation of Miners to grow by leaps and bounds. The mine owners had 1200 deputy sheriffs brought into the district and these men made themselves so intolerable that the citizens generally resented their appearance. The strikers built a fort on Bull Hill, and, well armed, entrenched themselves there. Startling and dramatic events followed. Governor Waite went to the fort of the strikers and addressed the assembled miners, telling them that he would see that their rights were respected. The wages were not reduced, and the bitter maledictions of the mine owners fell upon the governor's head. The author is quite enthusiastic over this action of Governor Waite, but she fails to make the point that capitalism was not yet firmly entrenched and that the governor was really a middle class represeńtattive. A significant fact is that many of the smaller mines first gave in. Since the strike of 1894 the mine owners combined to fight the union and subjugate it. The Mine Owners' Association included every big producer with the notable exception of the great Portland mine. It was this body that fought the union in 1903-4.

II.

The Western Federation of Miners after 1894 proceeded to strengthen its organization and so fostered and assisted the o ganization of all trades and labors, until in 1903 there was scarcely an important body of workingmen in the district that did not have a flourishing union. In the fall of 1902 began the efforts at union disruption. The U. S. Reduction and Refining Company, who were operating the Standard mill at Colorado City, started to discharge the mill workers as fast as their paid spotters reported the names of active union men. By February of 1903, forty-two of the most effective union men had been discharged. Union protests were in vain, and it was found that similar tactics were being pursued by the Mine Owners' Association at other mines in the district. The operators were asked to reinstate the men but refused to treat with the union. The union then arranged a wage scale, demanded the abolition of compulsory insurance, and the payment of wages in cash instead of by checks drawn in favor of the merchants with whom the men traded. On February 14 the strike was declared. Organized capitalism was in complete control of the industries of the district and on March 3 Governor Peabody honored the first call for troops to "preserve law and order" in the strike district. The strike went on with varying fortune until by August 12 the whole district was completely tied up.

The author is very bitter toward Governor Peabody, and perhaps naturally so, but the governor, while ostensibly playing the fiction of being the executive head of all the people, was, of course, the servant of the Mine Owners' Association. Had it been a Democratic governor the result would have been the same, for no matter what their protestations both parties are essentially capitalist. The power which Peabody used against the strikers was placed in his hands by the votes of the union men of Colorado. The outrages inflicted upon the strikers and their families by the militia, the bull pens, and the deportations, are all matters of recent history, and were given more or less publicity in these columns at the time. The testimony of the author is that the men were loyal to their cause, and in the face of great provocation restrained themselves and were the only upholders of Law and Order as against the to-hell-with-the-constitution Mine Owners' Association anarchists.

III.

On August 14, the Victor Daily Record became the official organ of the Western Federation of Miners. Over the signature of the executive committee of District No. 1 the official news pertaining to the strike appeared daily to the extent of several columns. This was a thorn in the side of the Mine Owners' Association. Something must be done. That something was the raiding of the office by the militia and kidnapping of the entire force who were thrown into the bull pen. The raid by the "law and order" gang was made at 11.30 o'clock on the night of September 29. Two companies of infantry and two troops of cavalry surrounded the prisoners and marched them off. That issue of the Record, it was thought, is done for, but the generals had not taken a certain doughty woman into account in their reckoning. The author was in bed when she heard that the Record force, among whom was her husband, had been arrested. Hastily dressing, she hurried through the streets to the office. The pressman, who had just shown up, was there, and Mr. Miller who was connected with the paper, hearing the news, also came in. They barred, bolted and locked the doors. Mrs. Langdon, as she puts it, "married" one of the linotype machines. By three o'clock a. m. a fairly good issue of the Record lay before them, containing the story of the raid upon the office.

After the paper was out the author found that she had fled through the streets in a thin gown, shoes unlaced and without a hat or wrap; it was bitter cold too. She determined that the boys should know that the Record had been gotten out, so she stuffed copies of the paper in her waist, sleeves and the lining of her jacket and started for Camp Goldfield. She arrived just as the whistle blew 6 o'clock. While standing at the guard line she heard one officer say to another: "There's one good thing, that damned Record will not come out this morning." The other tinsel here retorted with a vulgar expression, the officers having no respect in their choice of language in the presence of women. The plucky woman couldn't resist the temptation to flaunt a copy of the paper in the cur's face. She had just overcome the red tape formalities of getting through the line, when she received a message from her husband, who had learned of her presence at the camp. The message was to the effect that she should waste no time trying to see them, but get back to the office and get the Record out in spite of everything. She hurried back and plugged away until 11 o'clock that night when the regular force, having been released, came in.

The "force" had the usual experience in the bull pen. The night was bitterly cold and the armed thugs forced the men into filthy and squalid little tents barren of bedding or other furniture. They were told that if they stuck their heads out of the tent they would have them blown off. The tent had just been vacated by drunken soldier prisoners who had defiled it, but the Record men had to endure the stench and cold. At breakfast the slop offered them, and under the conditions that prevailed, would have insulted the gizzard of a buzzard. A gatling gun was trained on the tent where the men sat shivering in the cold. The prisoners were turned over to the sheriff of Teller county as defendants in a libel case. This act of the military brought such a cry from the press of the country that the men were released. The author states that the editor's desk was snowed under with communications from far and near denouncing the outrageous and disgraceful act. She received hundreds of letters of sympathy and congratulations for the part she played in preventing the throttling of free speech, but is very modest in telling of her own noble acts.

IV.

Had the author been schooled in the philosophy of Socialism she would of course not have commended as she does the election of County Assessor De Vault, who was elected on an "independent ticket," supported by the strikers. She evidently sees that labor's victory will find expression at the polls, but it will not be on the issue of "a fair wage, while capital will receive its due." On the contrary Labor's victory at the ballot box will be to the slogan of Down with Capitalism! We commend the author's advice that if the workers are to meet at the ballot box as a unit they must first take politics into their unions; but would add that a union of workingmen should consider only working class politics when it comes to the matter of political support. The workers of Colorado have surely had enough of "reform" and "independent" politics, and Rep.-Dem. politics with their bluffs at eight-hour days, etc., etc.

Mrs. Langdon considers John Mitchell, of Civic Fedration, and check off fame, a labor leader who is without equal in the United States. The denouncement of Mitchell by Delegate Randell of Colorado at the recent national convention of the United Mine Workers shows that Mrs. Langdon's opinion of the friend of Hanna, Belmont and Peabody is not generally shared in Colorado. The author may not think it fair for us to link Mitchell's name with that of Peabody; but is not Peabody a link in the chain of that circle of friendship with which Mitchell clasps hands?

In the fifty-eighth Congress, second session, Senate document No. 86, the mine owners made, through their secretary, and introduced by Senator Scott of Virginia, a so-called review of the labor troubles in the Rocky Mountain region, in which the Western Federation of Miners is charged in obtaining a hold on the workers in the metalliferous mining industry by murder, arson, dynamiting, riot, assaults, intimidation, threats, etc. The author skillfully takes each of these so-called charges, and first, holds that the records will show that the miners have not been guilty individually or collectively of any of the things charged. She then takes the first charge, "murder," and asks how is it with the mine owners? She tabulates a total of 1087 miners killed by explosion, by defective tunnel doors, by defective machinery; and in every instance these "accidents" resulted because the mine owners had not obeyed the laws governing ventilation, safeguards and storing of giant powder.

Under the head of "riots" she refers to the fact that eighty-nine men, many of them prominent mine owners of Clear Creek county, were arraigned before the courts to answer the charge of riot These eighty-nine "law and order" brigade had driven union miners from their homes at the point of pistol or rifle. She instances the tarring and feathering of union men; the breaking up of their dances; the rotten-egging of sympathetic citizens; the cowboy-like practices of the manager of the Smuggler-Union Mine.

"Arson." The statistics of the district show that the arson committed was the burning of union men's homes.

"Coercion." The forcing of men to work at the point of the bayonet, who had been brought into the district under false pretences. The forcing of the Record to cease publishing the official statement from December 5, and on.

"Intimidation." The military capture of Judge Seed's court; the suppression of Record editorials; the enforcement of "vag" order, and many other instances not the least of which was the declaration of martial law.

"Dynamiting." Who dynamited the houses of leading union men at Newcastle? The Vindicator mine explosion occurred while the mine was completely surrounded by the military. Under other heads, such as Reckless Shooting, Broke up Union Meeting, Search the Trains, Arrest of Organizer White of the A. L. U., Robbery by Soldiers, Nasty Gun Play, Arrests Made by "Military Necessity," Closing up Justice's Courts, Deportations, etc., etc., one can get a faint idea of the terrorism that was kept up in the district during the military occupation. Thanks to the author, these black crimes of the Colorado branch of the capitalist class of the United States are embalmed, and should never be forgotten while the workers of the land travail under wage slavery.

J. H.

The price of "The Cripple Creek Strike" is $1.10, the 10 cents being for postage. Forward to Mrs. Emma F. Langdon, Box 1408, Denver, Colo.

VOLCANIC RUMBLINGS

From Jan. 7 issue of the Faribault, Minn., "The Referendum", Organ of the so-called Socialist, alias "Public Ownership", alias Social Democratic Party.

ARE WE IN THE HANDS OF TRAITORS? FURTHER EVIDENCE SHOWS WE ARE.

In answer to national committeeman Turner, in regard to the conspiracy to turn the Socialist movement over to fusion and compromise, National Secretary Mailly sends out 2,000 words, mostly personal abuse, in which he admits that such conversation took place as set forth in the affidavit in last week's issue, but denies that he and Clark had any intention of acting traitors to Socialism; but since the crowd from Mailly down, have, ever since they have had charge, worked every crooked scheme known to capitalist politicians, to check the revolutionary growth, according to Karl Marx, and have succeeded in driving out every Socialist in America, until it is necessary to reorganize a Socialist party, or else join hands with the Socialist Labor Party, and leave those Maillyites in charge of the fake movement, it needs no further proof of the traitorous manoeuvres of Mailly, Clark, Berger, Holmah & Co.

Now, comrades, to show how these middle class committeemen, the national quorum and the national secretary and his whole office force, stand together, to block an investigation of crooked work, the following vote, not to investigate Mailly, Clark Turner and others on charges by way of affidavit, that these fellows had laid a plot to turn the Socialist party, over to revision and compromise with capitalism, as furnished by the national secretary, is given.

The fact that the Socialist party has been turned into a reform movement, and by this crowd now accused of it, is almost proof positive of the truth of the affidavit made by Comrade Futvoye.

Those voting not to investigate, and to retain the accused, are:

Alabama—B. Andrus. Arizona—H. H. Keays. Arkansas—L. W. Lowry. California—N. A. Richardson. Colorado—A. H. Floaten. Connecticut—W. E. White. Florida—W. R. Healy. Idaho—Geo. F. Carter. Illinois—B. Berlyn. Iowa—John M. Work. Kansas—A. S. McAlister. Kentucky—Chas. G. Towner. Massachusetts—John C. Chase. Minnesota—S. M. Holman. Montana—James D. Graham. New Hampshire—M. H. O'Neil. New Jersey—Charles Ufert. New York—Morris Hillquit. Oklahoma—R. Maschke. Pennsylvania—J. Mahlon Barnes. Rhode Island—John H. Floyd. South Dakota—Samuel Lovett. Vermont—John W. Arvidson. Washington—George E. Boomer. Total voting yes, 24.

The following voted to have an investigation:

Indiana—S. M. Reynolds. Michigan—S. J. Lamb. Missouri—George H. Turner. North Dakota—Tonnes Hams. Ohio—Howard S. Caldwell. Texas—John Kerrigan. Total voting no, 6.

Not voting: Putnam, Louisiana; Fox, Maine; Kamp, Oregon; Zimmerman, W. Virginia and Berger, Wisconsin. Total, 4.

Comrades, as I saw the packed caucuses of the politicians at the national convention, Prof. Mills there as a delegate, who brought in the proof, I have in my possession, and others there who got in through fraud and the sculduggery of Morgan, Steadman, Hilquit, Carey, Titus, Unterman, Will, Simons, Berger, Gaylord & Co., everything is proof positive, that there is a gang of rascals in charge of the Socialist movement, truly unfit for a Republican machine; and if we, the workers can't get rid of this unprincipled set of business men, not a workingman in charge of the movement, we certainly will have to reorganize, or join hands with the Socialist Labor Party, and push on to the workingman's Socialist Republic.

It is one of the three things—which shall it be?

E. B. FORD.

TO ORGANIZE HUNGARIAN WORKMEN.

Comrades:—The Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation decided to send out Comrade Louis Basky for a five weeks' tour, in order to organize the Hungarian working people into our organization. As yet, we have not branches all over the country, and we ask you to lend a helping hand by arranging meetings for the below dates.

Comrade Basky is provided with credentials from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, which he will present to you on his arrival. We are going to supply every city with hand-bills to advertise the meetings. Dates and place of the meeting to be filled in on the hand-bills.

Comrades, bear in mind that this organization is a determined fighter for the cause of true, revolutionary Socialism, as advocated by the S. L. P.

Please do not change the dates of the meetings given below. If there is a branch of our Federation in your place, please arrange meetings together with it.

Fraternally,

The Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation.

New York, Feb. 16.

DATES OF ORGANIZER LOUIS BASKY

Pittsburg, Pa., March 4 to 10; Cleveland, O., March 11 to 15; Detroit, Mich., March 16; Chicago, Ill., March 17-18; Milwaukee, Wis., March 19-21; St. Louis, Mo., March 22-23.

SECTION OFFICERS.

London, Ont.—Organizer, I. P. Courtney; Financial Secretary, A. C. Weber; Treasurer, D. Ross; Recording Sec'y, T. Maxwell; Literary Agent, W. D. Forbes; People Agent, G. L. Bryce; Grievance Committee, C. A. Weitzel, T. Maxwell, E. Rogers; Propaganda Committee, J. Mills, J. W. Peasse, A. C. Weber, C. A. Weltzel, F. Haselgrove; Press Committee, C. A. Weitzel, T. Maxwell, J. W. Peasse, F. Haselgrove, D. Ross, and Auditing Committee, Wm. Sanders, Fred Haselgrove.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

ROBERT RANDELL'S ANSWER

To John Mitchell, Labor Lieutenant of the Capitalist Class

(Continued from page 2.)

THE MITCHELL MACHINE.

There was paid out last year, according to Secretary Wilson's report, for salaries, railroad fare and hotel bills for officers and organizers the enormous sum of $199,725.80. Besides the national board members who act as organizers, there are 65 men constantly employed for organizing purposes. The value of their services can be seen by the fact that on December 1, 1904, there were 24,900 less members in the U. M. W. of A. than on December 1, 1903. These organizers depend for their jobs on the good will of John Mitchell—despite all statements to the contrary—and he has been able to build up a machine more perfect than any machine ever built by Tweed, Quay or Croker.

A YEAR OF DEFEAT FOR MINERS TO CONSIDER.

During last year, the miners of Iowa, Kansas, Indian Territory; Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky, Indiana, the bituminous districts of Pennsylvania and part of Ohio, were forced by the coal operators and John Mitchell to accept reductions of 5.55 per cent.; in Eastern Ohio they have accepted a still greater reduction; at Leiter, Illinois, Joe Leiter stands intrenched behind injunctions and Gatling guns; at Red Lodge, Montana, the union has been destroyed by John Mitchell's breach of faith over a checkweighman matter; in the Meyersdale district of Pennsylvania, the miners have bravely struggled for over a year against a reduction of 10 per cent. and, to quote from Mitchell's Annual Report, "were it not for the fact that the output of the Meyersdale district enters into close competition with coal mined in central Pennsylvania, the importance of maintaining scale rates there would not be so vital to the welfare of our organization in other fields and the wisdom of continuing the contest would be open to serious question"; in Alabama, 10,000 miners have been making a determined fight to preserve their organization since July 1, 1904; in Tenessee, part of the miners accepted a reduction of 7 per cent.; out in the Coal Creek district they are striking against a reduction of 15 per cent.; at Morris Run, Pa., they are fighting against a heavy reduction, and, in the Cabin Creek district of West Virginia, for the preservation of the union; in Colorado and New Mexico the miners have been completely defeated; in Sunnyside, Scofield and Castle Gate, Utah, the miners have heroically battled for fifteen months, despite the fact that for nine months they have received no aid from the U. M. W. A.

Will John Mitchell search the history of his organization for the last eighteen months and point out one single victory that has been achieved by the U. M. W. A. under the generalship of the "greatest labor leader on earth"?

In closing, I appeal to the members of the U. M. W. A. to carefully consider what has been said on the Colorado-Utah strike; to study the history and policy of your organization since the anthracite strike; to investigate your boasted contracts and agreements—which forces you to produce coal to fill the orders of your fellow miners on strike in other districts and defeat them—to protest against the U. M. W. A. being made an adjunct of the Civic Federation; to take the control of your organization out of the hands of John Mitchell's $200,000 machine; to incorporate again the principle of the sympathetic strike into your organization; and to reorganize the U. M. W. A. upon the class solidarity of industrial unionism.

ROBERT RANDELL.

ORCHESTRAL CONCERT
By Members of the
New York Symphony and Philharmonic Orchestra
40 Musicians
LEO SCHULTZ, CONDUCTOR.
Under the Auspices of the
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
for the
DAILY PEOPLE
ON
Sunday, March 19, 1905.
3 P. M., at
GRAND CENTRAL PALACE
Lexington Avenue, Between 43rd and 44th streets, New York.
Vaudeville to follow Concert. Ball at 8 P. M.
Ticket admitting one 25c. Hat Check 10c.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172

It is folly to try "cleverness" in great things.

LASSALLE.

AMERICA'S UNIVERSITIES.

Whenever there is in Europe a throb for progress the despatches will be seen to contain items on the share taken by students. In various degrees of intensity, the student ever furnishes a good portion of the enthusiasm at such public demonstrations. Not infrequently he furnishes more than mere enthusiasm, he spills his blood. Strikingly has this been the case with the Russian students. The February 20 demonstration at the St. Petersburg University is the latest incident in point. Even the humdrum press despatches become epic when they describe the meeting at the Neva Hall of the University, where "the auditorium was packed to suffocation with [illegible]est looking young men and women, and the doorways and window embrasures were banked with students, who held others on their shoulders." Knowledge enlightens; how can it choose but start the thrill of enthusiasm, and vibrate to the touch of noble aspiration? Or what element can there be more responsive to the touch than the youth of a land, the element that as yet has not been "sobered" by the carking cares of the struggle for existence? So well-known a fact is this that all governmental powers of Darkness, clerical and lay, have ever sought to keep Pegasus well bridled, if not shackled. In sight of this general phenomenon, what means the special phenomenon, seemingly to the contrary, presented by the American student?

In the America of to-day the student class presents, as a whole, the exact opposite to his European fellow. The social throbbings that make for a higher order of things leave him cool, indifferent, if not apathetic. Yale students were lately seen to drop their pens, and take up the bridles of the teams that were dropped by workingmen on strike for fitter living; and only last week they offered their services to the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company in the event of a strike by the firemen. No face in audiences held by the Labor Movement bears the cynic's mark more challengingly than the student's. While here and there exceptions are found, the exceptions are the exact reverse of what constitutes the exception in Europe. February 20, on the occasion of the St. Petersburg University demonstration for freedom, a re-actionary students' meeting was called to offset the other; but it failed; only few students attended; they were the exception, and the meeting was abandoned. In America the exception would be and is the other way. Chauncey M. Depew, the representative in the United States Senate of the Vanderbilt earldom, known otherwise as the Vanderbilt railroad interests, uttered a substantial truth when he said that Socialism had not succeeded in invading the American college. Depew prided himself upon the fact. There was cause neither for pride nor shame.

Whoever feels either pride or shame at the posture of the American college succumbs to two errors, which resolve themselves into one. He imagines that revolution spells the same thing everywhere; and he fancies that the article is a pure mind-fancy. In other words, he fails to perceive the difference in the material conditions that surround Europe; he fails to see that the two territories are at different stages of development; in short, and as a consequence of this, he is looking for the real American college in the wrong direction.

What is commonly called the American "college" or "University" is the stamping-ground of the youth of the identical class whose youth makes up the Universities of Europe. Whatever may yet happen in Russia, as the result of the depth, impossible as yet to fathom, reached by the Socialist propaganda in the land, one thing stands clear as a pike, and that is that all the demands, so far audible, made by the revolutionists, are the demands of a radical bourgeoisie that is shaking off the shackles of feudal rule. Whatever may yet happen, as the result of a Socialist propaganda, whose practical fruit it is now too early to estimate, there is as yet nothing to indicate that the Russian proletariat will be ready at this crisis to do more than to furnish the human sinews for the raising of a bourgeois structure—a social step that has hitherto been found necessary in order to reach the final goal of the abolition of Class Rule, that is, the establishment of Socialism. Small wonder, accordingly, that the fire that to-day burns in the University of St. Petersburg is not found to burn in the American colleges, so called. Here the fire is a burnt-out coal. The bulk of the youth in our colleges consequently stand to the approaching Socialist Revolution of America in the identical relation that the reactionary students in Russia stand to-day to their revolutionary classmates.

He who would look for the revolutionary youth of America must look for it in America's revolutionary class—the workingman; he who would look for the real colleges and Universities of the land must look to the Academies in which the workingman is trained—the class-conscious Trades Union and the Socialist Labor Party. To look for either among the bourgeois class and its institutions of "learning" and then, either proudly or shame-facedly, say one does not find them, is but to turn into an unconscious Sam Weller, looking for his father at the trial of Bardell vs. Pickwick, not in the audience whence the voice had proceeded, but up among the rafters of the court-house where he could not possibly be.

The real American Universities and Colleges of to-day are not the scattered buildings said to be of learning, and that go by these names. Infinitely of vaster proportions and reared upon national basis are the Universities and Colleges that are to-day kindling the flame needed to light the torch for the next further step in civilization; and the classes that these Colleges and Universities address are to the ones lectured at the old style Colleges and Universities like the sands of the Ocean to the gravel of a puddle. Nor is the fact a secret. The strenuous efforts, put forth by the capitalist class to control these latter day Universities and Colleges by means of their labor-lieutenants, are but the twentieth century repetition of similar efforts, put forth by the rulers during the Dark Ages and continued until now in Russia, to clip the wings of an Enlightenment that their instinct tells them spells the "Revolution."

There is no cause for shame that our capitalist Colleges and Universities are exempt from such spectacles as were witnessed at St. Petersburg. All the enthusiasm, all the earnestness of men and women, all the crowding on one another's shoulders is seen to-day and will be seen increasingly in the actual Academies of the people.

HAPPY MODERN "MASSAHS".

"Massah!" a Negro slave is said one day to have answered his master, who ordered him to climb on a steep roof and plug a leak, "Massah! If I go up that steep roof, and I rolls off, and I falls down, and I breaks my neck, massah will lose $500. Now, if Massah send up that Irishman whom massah is hiring for $1.50 a day, and he rolls off, and he falls down, and he breaks his neck, massah will lose nuffin."

For all we know, this conversation took place in the State of Alabama; for all we know, it took place eighteen miles southwest of Birmingham; there is nothing to indicate that the conversation did not take place on the very spot where the Virginia mines of that State are located, and where on the 20th of last month an explosion took place entombing one hundred miners. Who knows but that the identical "Massah" of the conversation or some near and lineal descendant is the principal owner of the said mines!?

A hundred entombed slaves by an explosion or any other catastrophe would have sent any Southern neighborhood of slaveholders into mourning. It would have meant approximately an immediate loss of $50,000. To-day the mourners are not the "Massahs." Whoever may now be mourning the "Massahs" are cool. They, in their stupid class conservatism, fought hard to retain the conditions under which such an "accident" would almost ruin them. To-day they are glad they were beaten. The wage slave is cheap as dirt; his death costs the "Massahs" nothing. His "Massah" need not even take precautions for his safety. Such precautions cost too much money and time, and time is more money. So, let them be exploded—no loss comes to the "Massah": he neither loses his investment, nor does he lose any time worth mentioning in supplying the places of the dead! The capitalist system lashes new applicants into his web like a vacuum attracts the air!

At the hecatomb of the hundred slaughtered miners near Birmingham, Ala., the "Massah" class of to-day rubs its hands and says: "Thank heaven, the fellows were only wage slaves!"

RECOGNITION OF BRAVERY.

"You have been a brave man," said the officer of a German regiment to a common soldier who lay all bandaged up on his pallet in a hospital during the Franco-German war; "I am making my report. I shall recommend you for bravery. What do you prefer to have, the Iron Cross or twenty-five marks?" As soon as the soldier could find his voice he answered amid moans caused by the pain of his wounds: "How much is the Iron Cross worth?" "Intrinsically it is worth nine marks." "Then," replied the soldier amid some more moans, "let me have the Iron Cross and sixteen marks."

Small as was the comfort to the poor soldier for the wounds that no doubt crippled him for life, and, no doubt, shortened his days by many a year, it was just sixteen marks, or $3.20, more than the Congress of the United States is ready to bestow upon railroad employees in recognition of the bravery that they may exhibit. An act has just been passed "to encourage extreme daring to be exhibted in saving life upon the railroads." It authorizes the President to bestow bronze medals, rosettes, or knots upon the daring. In point of cash the "honors" are worthless. Even if the Government should accede to the singular suggestion of the German soldier, nothing but coppers would be coming to the mutilated railroad hero.

More than 2,000 trainmen were killed and 25,676 injured during the fiscal year of 1903. Not one of these men but was a hero. It is an act of heroism, that surpasses by far the volunteering to war, the act of taking a job on the railroads. The work is essential to the country's life, and the chances of death or accident are infinitely greater than in battle. Such are the murderous conditions under which the railroader is forced to work by the capitalist class. And in atonement for such stupendous crime, bronze medals, rosettes and knots are to be issued to the crippled men who may be considered to have exposed their lives most recklessly in endeavoring "to save life", that is, in endeavoring to beat down their masters' liabilities for damages to passengers.

Capitalism, looked from this side presents the picture of niggardliness grafted on crime.

TWO MICROBES.

The New York "Sun" has made a discovery. It says:

"The danger to the body politic, the danger of a highly centralized, bureaucratic government in this country, does not lie in the direction of the individual proclivities of the Chief Magistrate or in the debility and perversity of Congress, but in the growing recklessness and dishonesty of the management of our great corporations. This it is which is sapping the foundation of the social structure and which threatens the stability of the very Government itself."

Which is the same as saying:

"The danger to the body of a man afflicted with tuberculosis does not lie in the direction of his individual proclivities, but in the growing recklessness of the tubercular microbes in procreating. This it is which saps the foundation of the man's structure and which threatens him with death."

Of course! It is the way of the tubercular microbes to increase and multiply, and seeing this can not happen without the man's lungs being eaten up, the foundation of his structure is sapped. Exactly so with the microbe of capitalism.

Like the tubercular microbe, the microbe of capitalism is not there for the other fellow's fun; like the tubercular microbe, the microbe of capitalism is there for its own fun, it must spread; like the tubercular microbe, the microbe of capitalism, if left alone, saps the foundation of that which it feeds upon, and, if left alone, brings on a crash; finally, like the tubercular microbe, the microbe of capitalism can sooner be ended than mended. Of course the man afflicted with tuberculosis may help the disease along; and so may the official head of a nation that is afflicted with the microbe of capitalism help along the sapping.

The "Sun's" discovery is grandiose. He who says "Capitalism" says also "growing recklessness in the management of great corporations." The great corporations can as little prevent "growing recklessness" as can tubercular microbes. It is the law of their existence. To tinker at the former is as idle as to tinker at the latter. The latter must be stamped out of the body by the proper virus, aided by the strengthening of the physical body. The former must be stamped out by the virus that makes its quietus.

The "growing recklessness" of our great corporations can only be stopped by ending them. The virus to do it with is Socialism.

The Socialist Labor Party has no desire to prevent the re-publication of the arguments that issue from its press: it would not copyright Socialist thought if it could. It wishes Socialist thought to be spread to the four corners of the labor world, there to germinate and fructify in the Social Revolution. But the Socialist Labor Party believes that credit should be given where credit is due. This is a matter of common courtesy. But here comes the Kansas City "Line-Up," "Socialist" party organ, which, in its issue of February 20, publishes, in one form or another, paragraphs and Letter-Box answers from the Weekly People, and extracts from the Socialist Labor Party pamphlets "Money," "Reform and Revolution," and "Anarchism vs. Socialism," amounting to about five columns all told, without giving credit therefor. The Socialist Labor Party, seeing that the "Socialist" party press is so barren of genuine and original proletarian works, does not blame the "Line-Up" for helping itself so freely to Socialist Labor Party literature, in fact, it is pleased to have it do so; but the Socialist Labor Party hopes that, in the future, the "Line-Up" will be persuaded to cease emulating the "Hon." Ben Hanford, who pirated whole pages from "What Means This Strike," and published them as his own.

The Los Angeles "Herald" says, apropos of the war on the Standard Oil Company:

"The situation in Kansas is merely an incident in the conflict that seems to be inevitable. Like the first shot at Fort Sumpter, it is a signal for a movement all along the line."

The "Herald" speaketh better than it knew. "The oil situation in Kansas" is truly "merely an incident in the conflict that seems to be inevitable." But the conflict is different from that which the "Herald" believes it to be. Instead of being a conflict of government against trusts in the interest of the middle class, the trust conflict is the conflict of society against the capitalist class. Governmental ownership and regulation are but the futile preliminaries to social ownership and operation, which the trust problem, in all its phases, is steadily forcing upon society. The present shot, like the shot at Fort Sumpter, IS "the signal for a movement all along the line"—the line of progress, but not reaction, as the "Herald" believes.

The following paragraph is going the rounds of the press:

"It is said that there are in London about 2000 charitable institutions and organizations to advance the cause of progressive civilization. The number includes large and small institutions, affording more or less relief to the afflicted and those in distress. They are supported almost entirely by personal contributions and not from the rates (taxes) upon the general sources of revenues."

"The cause of progressive and advanced civilization" must need advancing when so many charitable institutions exist in one of its wealthiest cities. It is doubtful, however, if this cause will get what it so much needs from them. Charity aggravates the evils of capitalism by palliating, hiding and promoting them. The cause of progressive and advanced civilization can only be promoted by Socialism.

Dr. Osler's theory that a man is useless at forty and should be chloroformed at sixty, has been denounced as the utterance of a man whom much learning hath made mad. Yet Dr. Osler is only theorizing upon what is already a fact, as evidenced in the modern intensification of labor and the introduction of the age limit into industry. These make men useless at forty and hasten death via suicide before sixty. Dr. Osler may be insane in theory; but how about the system that reduces that insanity to a practice?

Parry's organ, the "Industrial Independent," for March, under the spread head, "Labor Leader Against Closed Shop," quotes Harry White, alias Korkowinski's, article in the January North American Review with approval. This quotation simply goes to show that, though deposed as a "labor leader" (having been ignominiously forced to resign as head of the Garment Workers' Union), White, alias Korkowinski, is now, as ever, of use to employers only.

The latest disclosures regarding the Standard Oil Company's crooked course in the Indian Territory, are certainly amusing. With such conspicuous and valiant trust busters as William Jennings Bryan, Senator W. J. Stone and Democratic National Chairman, Thomas Taggart, intimately involved in the Standard Oil's shady transactions, who is there left to wage persistent middle class warfare against "The Octopus"?

COOLIEDOM

Are We Speeding Toward, Or, Have We Already Dropped Below It?

San Francisco, Cal., Feb. 13.—Fifty miles N. W. of San Francisco is a little post office called Cement. Here is a cement factory and a quarry employing 200-250 men. I worked there three-and-a-half months this winter as a laborer, and I wish to tell the comrades about the conditions in this place, as they are typical of working class conditions in California.

Our wages were nominally $2 a day, but out of this we had to pay 25 cents a meal in the company's boarding house, making our wages equal to $1.25 a day and board. But it sounds better, you know, if the exploiter says that your wages are $2 and then proceeds to skin you out of nearly half of it for board.

It is superfluous to state that the laborers' board was the poorest that could be bought for money. It was at one time so bad that even the cook despaired. He was informed that the boarding house was to be run as cheaply as possible, and that, if the men did not like it, they could go to —; they knew what they could do.

A large part of the men were compelled to sleep in tents, some without any wooden floor. Here their few paltry belongings were often stolen by degraded marauders, while the occupants were at work. A sort of "sitting room" was provided, but it was allowed to become so dirty and full of vermin as to be almost unfit for use.

A California fog winter round San Francisco Bay is quite cold and disagreeable, and often we had to go to bed to keep warm, that is, such of us who were wealthy enough to possess blankets. But many wretched workingmen did not have any blankets, having got tired carrying them and thrown them away, during their long tramps in search of work. These had to shiver themselves to sleep on the shakedown of straw in the tents, their only covering being their dirty working clothes, stiffened by the damp fog, mud and cement dust.

But there was no choice for them. They were brought to bay by capitalism. Being penniless, they had been driven like lepers from town to town. So, here to Cement they came, in droves of 10 to 50 every day, haggard, ragged, starved and footsore, their minds dazed with worry over misery and hardship.

There they would stand in the cold at the office door the whole long day, waiting for a message to come up from the works, that another man was needed. Some of these men hung round thus for days, and even weeks, waiting for their pitiful chance, shivering from hunger and cold.

Now and then a few succeeded in mixing in with the employes in the rush for tables, devoured a surreptitious meal like hungry wolves, and sometimes under their coats a hunk of bread or meal for those less fortunate who were waiting on the outside. Some of these men told me that they had not had a bite for two or three days.

And all this silent suffering they undergo for a slim chance of selling their labor power for a few days. For few men, even the most hardened, could stand the work for more than two, three or four weeks. Some broke down in a couple of days.

So unhealthy was the camp that the Board of Health found it necessary to protest. Cases of typhoid fever were frequent. The men became alarmed, fearing some dread scourge, so it became necessary for the boss to deny that there had been any interference by the Health authorities. But, nevertheless, they had some chloride of lime scattered round for disinfection, and admonished the men "to try to keep clean."

And the men tried to keep clean. I have seen men with nothing on their bodies, except a rag for a breech cloth, washing their only shirt and other garments in water heated in a coal oil can, over a camp fire.

'Accidents" were plentiful. Minor accidents I did not hear of. It seems that every one was a finish.

On the Sunday after Thanksgiving a man fell into a "bent" filled with cement. He was suffocated, deep down in the fine dust. They had to bail out the cement in order to find the corpse of this fellow slave. Along in January a man working on the nightshift was killed by rocks loosened by blasting.

On the 10th of January the blacksmith and another slave were killed by a powder explosion in the blacksmith shop.

The fifth man to suffer in the course of less than two months was a clerical worker, who was crushed by machinery that was being unloaded from a railroad car. He was severely injured and is now a hopeless maniac, according to what I have heard.

This in a crowd of 200 to 250 men in less than two months. Quite an appalling percentage!

I distributed S. L. P. leaflets and Daily People copies regularly among these my wretched fellows. Some of them read this literature, and afterwards warned me to be careful, lest I lose my job! (Oh, what a loss!) Very few of them understand their class-interest. At best their ideas of Socialism are associated with a vague recollection of the name "Debs."

Subscriptions for The People I could not get, because nobody had any money, and when they quit they were paid in checks.

These men are mostly too dulled by misery to be capable of any mental effort. Those comrades who believe that a man can best be taught Socialism when he is in abject misery are surely wrong. You can hardly do anything with these men. They are too brutalized.

When I left my job I met, in a distance of one mile, 27 men on the road to the office, so I have no doubt my place was easily filled.

Are we speeding coolieward, or have we already dropped below cooliedom.

Oh, this is the land of Sunshine, Fruit and Flowers for the masters, but for the slave it is Hell.

Keep up the work for our emancipation! Without that a slave's life is not worth living.

J. T. W.

The criminal prosecution begun against the beef trust owners may result in the latter being compelled to pay fines, but what effect will it have on the practical workings of the trust?

HAMMER BLOWS.

(From the Sydney, Australia, "People," official organ S. L. P. of Australia.)

The people must own the land they live on and the machinery they work with. Nothing else will suffice.

The raison de etre of class and race struggles, wars, poverty, luxury, misery, millionaires, corruption, prostitution of "all kinds," crime (legal and illegal), adulterated food, shoddy clothing, slum dwellings, consumption, plague, decreasing birthrate, and nearly every evil we suffer from to-day is Ownership by a FEW. The only effective remedy for these evils is ownership by ALL.

To apply this remedy a political party with this as its one object is an absolute necessity. The tactics of such a party must be corner-stoned on a recognition of the obvious fact that the few will oppose every attempt made to apply it. The Socialist Labor Party is such a party. Throw in your lot with it.

It is a paradox (an apparent contradiction) that the people should be at once wretched and sovereign.—Laveleye.

Where is the wretch who wishes to see a continuation of this atrocious regime, where the miserable are counted by millions amid a handful of arrogant persons who have done nothing that they should possess all.—Abbe Fauchet.

This was said of the ancient regime, but it a hundred times more applicable to the modern capitalist regime under which millions starve because of an overabundance, a thing that never occurred under the ancient or any other previous regime.

But that's too far off! It is just as near as the workers will it. When they demand it it will come.

The present system of private ownership of land and tools of production is a crime against humanity.

To exploit is to take all out of a thing that's in it—that is, everything useful.

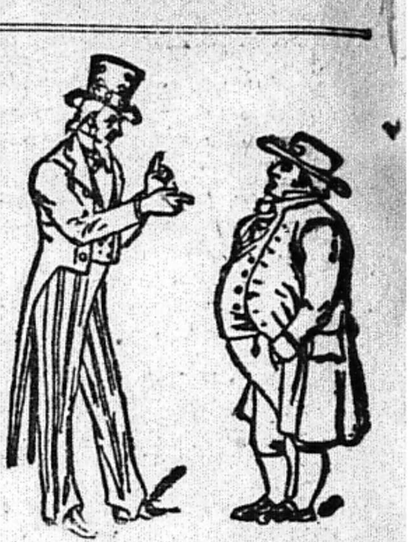
The principle of capitalism, in action, is the exploitation of humanity in the interest of a class. The principle of Socialism, in action, is the exploitation of nature in the interest of humanity.

THE COST OF LIVING.

The commodity index at the end of 1904, as figured by the London Economist, shows that there has been a slight decrease from the same period of 1903. In March last year, however, the price touched 2,234, which was the high record. The figures, however, are still very high, as the following comparative table will show:

End of		End of	
1904	2,136	1894	1,923
1903	2,197	1893	2,082
1902	2,003	1892	2,120
1901	1,948	1891	2,133
1900	2,125	1890	2,240
1899	2,145	1889	2,236
1898	1,918	1888	2,187
1897	1,890	1887	2,230
1896	1,950	1886	2,059
1895	1,990	1885	2,023

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN — Socialists would make decidedly more progress if they would do a certain thing.

UNCLE SAM—Which?

B. J.—They should define accurately the Co-operative Commonwealth.

U. S.—How define?

B. J.—They should describe accurately how things will be instituted, the organization of society, how the various wheels will look and how they will operate. Do you catch on?

U. S.—Guess I do.

B. J.—You agree?

U. S.—Let's see. You know all about Columbus, don't you?

B. J.—I know some; he discovered America.

U. S.—Do you know, too, that he we[illegible] from court to court, from country [illegible] country, stating his conclusion that [illegible] traveling westward he would strike land.

B. J.—Exactly.

U. S.—Was he believed by all who heard him?

B. J.—No, indeed; he had a hard time of it to make people understand the soundness of his views.

U. S.—Now, imagine if some smarty like yourself had drawn him aside and whispered confidentially to him: "Columbus, you are not making any great headway in convincing people. You would make decidedly more progress if you would draw up a map of the land that you say lies westward; point out exactly how the coast looks; point out where the mountains rise and how high the lakes, the rivers, the plains, the highlands. If you did that people would soon be converted." How do you imagine Columbus wou[illegible] have looked upon that friendly adviser?

B. J.—[illegible] must have looked upon him as any[illegible] does at a donkey braying.

U. S.—Correct, and why?

B. J.—Why? Because it was suggesting an impossibility.

U. S.—And so is your suggestion. Columbus reasoned that, the world being round, if you traveled westward you were bound to reach land, though the exact shape of the land could not be described. Likewise, the Socialist. He reasons that the system of the ownership must tally with the system of operation of the tools of production. When the tools were so small that each individual could operate them, they were owned individually, i. [illegible] privately. Now they have become [illegible] gigantic that they neither can be nor [illegible] operated individually; they are oper[illegible] collectively, consequently they must [illegible] owned—

B. J.—As collectively as they are [illegible]erated!

U. S.—As the whole nation now co[illegible]lectively operates its land and capital, [illegible] should and will the whole nation, a[illegible] not a set of individuals, be the owners thereof. The Socialist was foolish if he went a step further than to show what is coming and why. Like Columbus, he says the Co-operative Commonwealth lies ahead of us, and, like Columbus, who never attempted to give the details of the land, the Socialists will refuse to palm off dreams for facts.

B. J.—I see.

U. S.—But look you here. Between the Socialists and Columbus there is this difference. Europe could have gone on without the discovery of America; but civilization cannot go on without the Co-operative Commonwealth. That Socialist would be wasting his time who did not concentrate all his efforts in the endeavor to demonstrate that Socialism is inevitable if society is not to suffer shipwreck, and no sensible man wants or needs further information on the subject than the broad outline of the public ownership of all that is needed for producing the necessities of life. Leave the Socialists alone. They know just what they are about.

Baker's protest against Roosevel[illegible] formal expression of sympathy for [illegible] Czar over the assassination of [illegible] Duke Sergius, is a creditable ac[illegible] reflects the sentiments of all bu[illegible] American Czar and his grand [illegible] the ultra-capitalists.

The Parkhurstian suggestion tha[illegible] police be made soldiers, is right in [illegible] with the evolution of capitalism in [illegible] country. It will, therefore, prove acceptable.

CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

GEORGE ESTES.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—Answering a late letter box request for the record of George Estes, I will state that several issues of the 1900 "Railroad Telegrapher," organ of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, refers to him as their general chairman and most successful organizer for the Southern Pacific Railway system.

Estes was at the convention of that time, given charge of the revision of the constitution which called for the general federation of all railroad brotherohods, with plans for same and at which time was eliminated the clause "no quarrel with capital".

About the same time, the Order of Railroad Telegraphers joined the American Federation of Labor, and Estes, with his general secretary of the Southern Pacific system, Order of Railroad Telegraphers, with others, left the Order of Railroad Telegraphers and formed the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, with Estes as president and Meyers secretary. They opposed the trade autonomy of the American Federation of Labor, and the body, when organized, joined the American Labor Union, which allows free politcal discussion and working class politics.

Now, Estes, though he undoubtedly has done much towards eliminating economic scabbery, may, along with others, have a chance to prove his claims to intelligence by showing at the Chicago conference, that he stands squarely on the class struggle of the worker, and that he recognizes the inefficiency of the proletariat fighting for emancipation while scabbing at the ballot box.

Yours, to vote as you strike,

A. J. Boland.

Jersey City, N. J., February 20.

THE CHICAGO DEBATE—A STORY TOO GOOD TO KEEP.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—A debate took place here on Sunday, January 29, the story of which is too good to keep. The affair besides being typical of the Kangaroo style of debating, was amusingly illustrative of the ridiculous fix the defenders of the "Socialist" party are placed in by the hodgepodge platform adopted at the Chicago Convention. The "Socialist" party was the subject of the debate referred to, which was held at County Democracy Hall, and the debaters were Seymour Steadman of the "Socialist" party and C. Trainor of the Democratic party.

Clark, of the "Revolutionary Socialist" club, opened the meeting at 2.30, and after announcing the subject, introduced Steadman who at once commenced to roast the Democratic and Republican parties as if he were making a campaign stump speech. He denounced their capitalist tactics and defied his opponent to prove when the Democratic party had ever done anything for the working class. Not once in the whole 40 minutes did he mention the "Socialist" party.

Trainor, the Democrat, on taking the floor, stated that it was an old trick of attorneys to talk fast to avoid the issue when they had a weak case. Mr. Steadman had done so. He did not, he declared, intend to defend the Democratic party as it was not on trial. The "Socialist" party was on trial, and to that he would confine himself. Let us first decide what is Socialism, he said. After defining it to the satisfaction of the "Socialists" present, who did not see what he was driving at, Trainor took up the S. P. platform and commenced to analyze it. The very opening paragraph came in for considerable comment. Socialism means a new system of society, said Trainor, and yet in the very opening sentence of your platform you say that you are not alone the upholders but the preservers of the present system of society. Here he was interrupted by Steadman and his dupes, but Trainor maintained that he had a right to investigate their platform and principles, as they had asked him as a Democrat to join their party. It was not his fault, he declared, if their platform and principles showed them to be all things to all men. As for the initiative and referendum, he said, that had been taken from the Populist platform of 1896; the income tax was gotten from the Democratic platform, and the "tax on land values" came from the Single Taxers. Their platform contains nothing which those of the old parties did not contain and yet, he said, they had the nerve to ask him to join their "little sideshow" of a Social Democratic party.

When Steadman got the floor for twenty minutes to reply, he claimed that he didn't know that the "Socialist" party was to be the issue of the debate, before the chairman announced it. As for his opponent, he said, he had only been juggling with workingmen's expressions. As the "Socialist" party was a workingmen's party it was not to be expected their platform should contain flowery language. Steadman felt himself in such a hole he shifted about uneasily and several times asked the chair if his time was up. He wound up in his excitement, by abusing the chairman and saying he did not know he was to debate with Mr. Clark through his proxy Mr. Trainor. Not once did he mention the "Socialist" party platform. At the end of the 20 minutes he took his seat with a very worried look on his face.

Trainor, in closing the debate, said that Mr. Steadman was a good enough lawyer to know when to avoid the point and when to abuse the other fellow. As for Mr. Steadman's not knowing the question to be debated, that was false, because he (Trainor) had called at Steadman's office to talk it over with him (Mr. Steadman—"I believed that was to be a secret") and knew fully what the question was to be. As for the "Socialist" party, he would quote from Marx and Liebknecht and others,—yes, even from the chairman of the committee that got up that platform at Brand's Hall, Prof. Herron—that the emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself. Trainor then read from their convention report that out of 18 delegates from the State of Illinois, only 4 belonged to the working class, the other 14 to the capitalist class.

It was getting too hot entirely for Mr. Kang and to come to his relief a notorious freak named Evans, jumped up and started to abuse Trainor and objected to any Democrat coming there to find fault with the "Socialist" party platform or its middle class delegations who got it up. The crazy move of Evans was the signal for a lot of the dupes to jump up and raise the regulation cornered Kangaroo racket. For a while all was uproar and confusion, but Steadman was all smiles. When order was finally restored, Trainor was granted by the more sensible persons present, extra time to make up for that lost. In resuming, he stated that in Milwaukee the S. P. had elected an Alderman (a dupe—"9".)—"One will do as well," said Trainor, the "Socialist" party has introduced a bill in the Council compelling the street car companies to put clocks in their cars, undoubtedly so that the workers could get to work in time and not waste any on the boss. In West Virginia he had been told they advocated stronger jails. Clocks in the cars is Socialism in Milwaukee, stronger jails is Socialism in Virginia. "No, no, come back to the Democratic party, where you belong"—applause.

This is how they advocate "Socialism" in Chicago (sic).

H. A. Nielson.

Chicago, Feb. 14, 1905.

MORE ON THE "APPEAL"—SELF EXPLANATORY.

I

APPEAL TO REASON,
Girard, Kansas.
A SOCIALIST PAPER.
J. A. Wayland.

Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor.
Eli N. Richardson, Circulation Manager.
Geo. D. Brewer, Assistant to Circulation Manager.

Mr. Station Agent,
Brother Railroader:—

As soon as you have told the fellow at the ticket window that the noon train is due at twelve o'clock and satisfied the young lady that her telegram will be sent at once and o.s'd the way freight and explained to the Grand Mogul at the other end of the wire what delayed 'em, I'd like to chat with you just a minute.

It's about a book—to tell the truth, just between you and me, I don't suppose it's a bit better book than you could write yourself if you had time. I simply wrote it because I'm an old railroad man and telegrapher myself and had time to write it.

The title of the book is: "At Finnegan's Cigar Store," and the hero of the 14 little stories, which the booklet contains, is Mr. Station Agent. The First story in the book, "How Finnegan Bought Himself a Diamond," is worth the price of that ten cent cigar you're smoking, and that's all the book will cost you.

I know you'll like it—I liked it myself. I'm so sure of it I am enclosing a ten cent coin card for you to use in ordering it. A dime in the card and postage stamp on the letter will bring you the book by first mail. 'Nuff said.

"73" E. N. Richardson.

P. S. I am enclosing another card for your night operator if you have one—I'd hate to have him feel that I had slighted him.

II

(Copy)

New Haven, Conn., Feb. 18, 1905.

E. N. Richardson,
Dear Sir:—

The slip and coin card came duly to hand and will be forwarded to The People, as an evidence of the exploitation for private benefit of the movement which "The Appeal to Reason" claims to be advocating. I simply gather from your letter that you have written a book which you think to be somewhat amusing, but I can discover no intimation that it has any bearing on the subject of Socialism to which the "Appeal" professes to be devoted. Of course, the "Appeal" will make a profit by using the plant to print it, and yourself will receive a profit on its sale and Socialism may go to the "demnition bow wows", but as a Socialist Labor Party man, I don't propose to help you in your "graft".

Yours respectfully,

C B. Wells.

THE "NEXT BEST THING" THE WORST THING.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—Members and sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party will often wonder why it is that Socialism does not make more headway than it does—that headway being measured by the increase of the party's vote and by that of its membership. Well, there are many reasons why, and the correspondence in the Daily People of January 8, from V. J. Stedry of Broken Row, Neb., puts me in mind of one very important reason. Mr. Stedry tells us that though affiliating with the Populist party he sympathizes with the Socialist Labor Party movement because he "thinks it advocates genuine Socialism." His reason for *not* affiliating with the Socialist Labor Party, when he considers it the only genuine Socialist party, is that he thinks the Socialist Labor Party "has no show" there at present.

Now, I have an idea that his is not an exceptional instance, but that throughout this great land there are thousands of similar cases. Men are supporting political movements which they think are "the next best thing," because "Socialism has no show yet." Why, even thousands of the workingmen voting for one or the other of the two big capitalist parties admit that Socialism would be the right thing; but, so blinded have they become by the dust raised by the press and other "educational" agencies of those Siamese Twins, that they consider it more necessary to take part in their sham battles than to take a consistent stand for Socialism.

A sympathizer may feel himself too isolated to be able to help the Socialist Labor Party movement, but since he still feels it his duty to do something, that something will consequently be to help prolong the present social conditions by working for some wildcat movement. But I say, why not "let the dead bury their dead"? Why not let the warring factions of capitalists and office hunters have it out between themselves which is to be the final opposition party to the working class movement for economic emancipation? Let every man who sees in Socialism the only salvation from the eternal hell of wage slavery which capitalism imposes on the bulk of humanity, quit his fooling with the "next best thing." No so-called reform party ever did or ever will earn the title of the "next best thing to Socialism." Reforms are only chimeras—will-o'-the-wisps—that, though they may afford their chasers a lot of exercise, will in the end tucker them out and make them so "disgusted with politics" that when they discover the hopelessness of their movement, they will not have energy enough left to be of any help in the movement for the *real thing*—the Socialist Labor Party movement. What matters it that you lack the opportunity of voting for the Socialist Labor Party candidates, because none are put up in your State or county? You can still do the ("real") "next best thing"—go to the polls and mark your ballot "Socialist Labor Party," like one man did in the State of Texas eight years ago; now the Socialist Labor Party vote of that State compares favorably with that even older Socialist Labor Party States.. Even "staying at home" is recommendable to voting for a fake "next best thing." It at least saves the man's vote from the disgrace of being directly or indirectly cast against his true interests.

Socialism and its only party, the Socialist Labor Party, are entitled to not only a little dole of declared sympathy, but to the individual support, mental, moral and financial, of every true Socialist. And those who consider it good policy to affiliate with other parties just because the Socialist Labor Party "has no show" illustrate with their action *why* it has no show.

Let Mr. Stedry and the thousands of others, who no doubt are in the same boat, sever their affiliations with the will-o'-the-wisps of capitalism and join the Socialist Labor Party. This party's papers and other literature will, if they but read them, explain to them:

1. What true Socialism is; that it is not an insignificant affair that can with impunity be put to one side because it "has no show."

2. What course must be followed in order to attain it; and

3. What every true Socialist *must* and *must not* do in order that his work for Socialism may be not obstructive but constructive.

"You have nothing to lose (but your illusions), but a world (of clear understanding of Socialism and Socialist duties) to gain" by dropping the "reform" movements and their press and going fully into the study of and work for Socialism.

It is up to Mr. Stedry and his intellectual compeers to help give the Socialist Labor Party the show which they say it is now lacking.

B. Eide.

Red Wing, Minn., February 12,

On the Chicago Manifesto

I.

From Otto Steinhoff, Member S. L. P.

Columbus, O., Feb. 14.—After considering the Chicago Manifesto, I have come to the conclusion that the S. L. P. should advise the S. T. & L. A. to send delegates to the June convention, composed of revolutionary Socialists. I have also come to the conclusion that the men who wrote that manifesto have, by this time, become very considerate, and will act very reasonable; and it should be the aim of the S. T. & L. A. delegates to act likewise. I do not mean that our delegates should go as beggars. On the contrary, let them go there as shrewd generals. Our delegates should not make a demand which the convention will not indorse. I refer now to the endorsement of the S. L. P. If a union is accomplished, an endorsement amounts to nothing unless it is understood by the rank and file of the organization doing the endorsing. The aim of the new union will be to smash the pure and simpledomness of the A. F. of L. pure and simple style of organization, and organize the proletariat on correct revolutionary lines. The smashing of the A. F. of L. will be rapid. The new union will be over-run with bunches of raw recruits. To educate that swarm will be a task, by far greater than we imagine.

Let our delegates go to the June convention with other demands than endorsing the S. L. P. Let us insist in the convention that it endorse only the right kind of literature. Knowledge is power. The S. L. P. has nothing to fear. The Weekly People is a royal flush in the hands of the S. L. P. We should therefore demand that the new organization at its own expense send the name of every member to the Weekly People as a subscriber. This is not asking much, the S. L. P. being the only true political working class party in this country. This statement no man will contest in a public debate with an S. L. P. member.

I have good reason to believe that those men who signed the Chicago Manifesto are honest. Last fall one of those men spoke in this city for the S. P. (Debs) ticket. After he got through he advised a friend of mine, who had just joined the S. P., to read the S. L. P. literature. He further stated that De Leon was the best authority on Socialism in America.

In concluding, I will say the manifesto settles the fight on principle. The only fight that stares us in the face is will the convention remain steady, or will it be scuttled by pirates? Sail in, boys, the fight is worth fighting.

II.

From Chas. W. Winfield, Member S. L. P.

Chicago, Feb. 12.—Are we moral cowards, and are we afraid of our position? These two questions confront me after reading the opinions of Comrades Cox and Veal, on the recent "Manifesto." To me, it would seem so, if we were to follow their suggestions and send delegates to such a convention.

The Socialist Labor Party has fought an unceasing fight against "pure" and "simple" unionism and fakirism so long, and just as results are about to show for it, are we going to weaken? We all agree that our position is the correct one, then why should we return to obsolete methods? The odor from "garlic" would be just as obnoxious even if given another name. What is the difference between fakirism under the name A. F. of L. or A. L. U.? The "Manifesto" is very good until it comes to the political clause. Then it raises the old familiar Gompers' cry of "No politics in the union." It is "revision," and that is just what the master class want. The "Manifesto" is supposed to rest on the class struggle, but if it were to endorse any such clause as the political one, we would simply be trying to carry on a revolution behind the backs of the workers which is impossible. Send delegates to such a convention? No! We might as well send them to the A. F. of L. and let them Bore! Bore! Bore!—it is a larger crowd. What is the difference between a Gompers and a Simons, or a Mitchell and a Hall or McCabe, or a Tobin and an Untermann? One side is labeled "AUTONOMY" and the other "INDUSTRIALISM." Does the leopard change his spots? No!—neither does this choice collection of individuals who have signed the "Manifesto."

I agree with Comrade Cox, "BEWARE OF A TRAP." In a convention of this kind every delegate would pledge himself and organization to stand by the result of the convention, no matter what the outcome. Just think of the S. T. & L. A. standing by an order to cease endorsing the S. L. P. The master class would like to see the S. L. P. wiped out. To do this they would use any means in their power—even to controlling a fake union convention.

It is true that conditions are forcing a change on the industrial field. For some time a number of A. F. of L. leaders have been advocating industrialism. Would any member of the S. L. P. think of uniting with them on that account? No!—then why should we unite with this other bogus outfit? Comrade Veal says we must look to the actions of men in a crisis of this kind. So we should. Has he forgotten the actions of Simons and Untermann, who are notorious for their misleadership of the so-called "Socialist party," or McCabe, who is a Democratic hanger-on? He also compares the two organizations of miners. The Mitchell outfit we both agree on. Now for the W. F. of M. What a consistent lot they are! First, they endorse the S. L. P.—then the S. P. and then they allow their leaders to drive them, like cattle, to the old parties. It only shows the consistency (?) of their leaders, Moyer, Haywood and O'Neal, whose names we find appended to the "Manifesto."

The A. L. U. admits it is impotent to make the fight on the economic field alone. So it is. They also admit the S. T. & L. A. with the S. L. P. have the THOUGHT and TACTICAL DIRECTNESS—the proper programme. If they are sincere why don't they come out squarely and adopt the S. T. & L. A. principles? But, no—in one breath they admit we are right and in the next show their true colors by crying "no politics in the union." It seems to me as though Cox and Veal have been fooled by the cry "they are coming our way." They are coming our way all the time, but the trouble is—they never arrive.

Simons? Untermann?—these two worthies? Both, no doubt, realize the downfall of the bogus Socialist party is near. Both would like a soft spot to land on. What would be better than berths in the new union, which is the same old "bunch" in a new disguise. Either that or something worse. For instance: it is plain to us all, that the S. L. P. is a thorn in the side of "leaders" (?) of the Simons type. It would be a good thing for them to have the S. T. & L. A. or S. L. P. bind themselves to the ideas of the "Manifesto." Then force the convention to compromise. Then point out how the S. L. P.—in spite of its boasts of "no compromise"—is a ocmpromising organization and in that may wreck us. Then all would be smooth sailing for themselves.

Why does Comrade Cox fear a trap and suggest, at the same time, that we venture near it? If we send delegates to that convention we simply lose the results of all our years of agitation. Just as things are developing nicely for us and we on the point of getting results, are we going to blunder and lose all the ground we are in possession of? Comrades, remember "'99" and those who tried to hurry things. We were too narrow and they would force things. You all know what happened then; fakirism and ignorance did it all. I have confidence in the S. L. P. and don't believe we are foolish enough to run after crazy ideas at this late day. I assert again that we would be cowards to send delegates to that convention merely because it is called A. L. U. instead of A. F. of L., and I must confess surprise at the easy manner in which they pulled the wool over Comrade Frank Bohn's eyes.

BROOKLYN MASS MEETING.

Local Alliance 252, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, will hold a mass meeting to discuss the trade union question, at New Atlas Hall, 254 Central avenue, corner Himrod street, Brooklyn, on Friday, March 10, 8 p. m. Speakers, John T. Vaughan, James T. Hunter and August Gilhaus. Henry Kuhn, National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, will preside. Come, and bring your shopmates.

S. T. & L. A. LECTURES

New York—at McMahon's Hall, 2660 Third avenue, corner 142nd street, every Thursday evening, 8 o'clock. Admission free.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

[illegible], SCHENECTADY, N.Y.—The second letter of Randell throws more light upon John Walker and also upon some other "Socialist" party men. The membership of these people in the so-called Socialist party is extremely loose. Fact is that party has no organization in the proper sense of the word. If you desire to communicate with Randell send us your letter.

R. W., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—Be careful not to drop into the trap that Leroy-Beaulieu of Europe and De France of Lincoln, Neb., love to spread. In order to refute Marx they resort to exceptional articles that are no staples, and that consequently are excluded from scientific economics. The horse-trader's stock-in-trade is of that nature. The Marxian formula is correct. The money that the capitalist starts with is absorbed in the goods that he turns out. These goods contain the added and unpaid value of Labor, and consequently materialize into more money.

A. G. R., BOSTON, MASS.—You are right. The $7,000 are not "exclusively the product of the wage workers in the mill." A good portion of the $7,000 represents the product (paid and unpaid) of other workers in producing the raw material. The point was taken up in detail in a recent article that exposed the criminal economic ignorance of the "New Yorker Worker."

W. W. C., EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.—Curious, is it not, that these folks of the so-called Socialist party of Illinois should try to set up a ticket and sail under the colors of the Socialist Labor Party? They have always claimed that whatever vote the Socialist Labor Party got was "by mistake" and was meant for them. And now that they polled about 60,000 votes in their State under their own name, and the Socialist Labor Party only about 3,000, they try to pirate our name! It tells the tale, does it not? It is the Socialist Labor Party that has the workers' respect. The mistake lies on the other side of the house.

B. R., BUFFALO, N. Y.—What is the date of that "Open Letter" of thirteen years ago? Or could you mail it to us, or a copy? Do!

A. F., HARTFORD, CT.—If the manuscript is legible send it.

F. F. D., BISBEE, ARIZ.—There is no such publication in existence, or in prospect.

T. P. S., WACO, TEX.—That also is granted, but the Socialist Labor Party's attitude on the press does not prevent such help. It goes without saying that such a thing is possible as that a man has the means to set up a paper of his own and honestly believes that he can promote Socialism thereby. But then in the measure that such a man is clearheaded and honest he will do two things. First, he will appreciate the wisdom of the Socialist Labor Party in insisting upon controlling its press, and he will not feel aggrieved that his private ownership of a paper excludes him from membership in the Party. He will realize that it is preferable for the Party to exclude such men, rather than to open the sluice-gates for the "God-ordained" and self-appointed editors to rush in and speculate on the Party's flanks. He will understand that some few possible good men will have to be excluded in order to make sure of the exclusion of a raft of certainly bad ones. Secondly, such a man will stand by the Socialist Labor Party anyhow. You will notice that the Party has no jealousies. It gladly advertises by quoting, favorably, papers that say good things—provided always they say more good things than bad. But you will notice that, in nine cases out of ten, privately owned "Socialist" papers are vicious against the Socialist Labor Party. They thereby betray the fact that they know that they are "on to."

W. J., CLINTON, IA.—No wonder! Read the above answer to W. W. C., East St. Louis, Ill. There is this to be added: No wonder the S. L. P. has resisted all onslaughts! Its literature builds up an intelligent membership that can not be stampeded.

J. W. W., SCHENECTADY, N. Y., AND J. J. G., ROCK RAPIDS, IA.—Fortunately for the country, for each of your two rageful epistles, the article that has aroused your ire has brought in three in the opposite sense. Facts are the test of MAN. The man learns by them; he who is not a man flies off the handle. There is nothing more abominable than FACTS to dupes or worse than dupes.

E. S., ONEONTA, N. Y.—Oh, no! No! It would be a great misfortune if the Social Democratic party were to die. The dikes of the Socialist Labor Party would be put to a fearful strain by the flood of "intellectuals" that would try to get in. Within the Socialist Labor Party, such riff-raff would be an unqualified nuisance; without, they are worth their weight in gold.

T. B. C., VICTORIA, B. C.—First, Labor power is a commodity.

Second, Machinery is eliminating the differences in the productive power of different men, their use-value to the capitalist. All thought, however, regarding the difference in the productive power of one man and another proceeds from false premises. The false premises that such thought proceeds from is the assumption that the capitalist class exploits the workingman individually. It does not. It exploits him collectively: it exploits the working class. Differences in productive power between man and man merge and vanish. What is left is the productive power, use-value, of the working class.

Next questions next week.

S. G. FITCHBURG, MASS.—The discussion on the Chicago Manifesto is open to all in these columns—Party members and non-Party members.

A. G. A., SALT LAKE CITY, UT.—First, The Jacobins were the ultra-radicals in the French Revolution. They developed into the "Mountain." It was they who forced the hands of the more timid bourgeois and finally brought the Girondists to the block.

Second, That explains the opinion that Lissagaray has of Delescluze and of Blanqui when he calls them Jacobins.

Third, Delescluze, Garibaldi and Felix Pyatt can hardly be termed Socialists, they were extreme radicals. As to Blanqui, it is harder to define him, although he comes much nearer to being a Socialist. In fact, in France the Blanquists are considered among the most radical of Socialists.

Fourth, By the "faubourgs" is meant the suburbs of Paris within the city walls.

Next questions next week.

W. H. C., BOSTON, MASS.—Can not be did.

J. O. M., SIDNEY, AUSTRALIA—The matter arrived in good time, and was found useful and interesting. If not acknowledged at foot of this column it was an oversight. Many thanks.

M. C. I., CLEVELAND, O.—First, It is difficult to define exactly the posture of the Socialists of continental Europe on the Trades Union. But this may be said with a fair chance at accuracy: They look upon the Union as a nuisance that must be humored. Which goes to show that the capitalism that they have to deal with is not the full-fledged article known in America.

Second, There is no love for Socialism animating the Volkszeitung Corporation. What animates and consumes the concern is vindictive hatred for, through enviousness of, the Socialist Labor Party.

J. E., SUISUN, CAL.—The "right" that a Revolution appeals to is the "right" that it brings in its own folds. It brings along its own standard of "Right" and "Wrong."

F. A., TOLEDO, O.—As far as we know, Mitchell's miners' organization IS "industrially" organized. Industrialism, though a more logical form of organization, can be as capitalistic as the furthest developed Trust. Of this more anon editorially.

L. T., ST. CHARLES, MO.—The workingman is not a profiter by the exploitation of workingmen in other trades. The middle class is. To the extent that exploitation may lower prices, the middle class profits: the cheaper the things are which it has to buy, the more money it saves. The workingman is in a different box. The cheaper the things may be which he has to buy, the lower goes his own exchange value. Hence the monstrous stupidity of the Gomperses and Mitchells when they appeal to the "consumer", or the "public."

F. F. K., NEW YORK—The capitalist class is doing its work to perfection; and so is the Socialist Labor Party.

TO PARTY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS, GREAT BRITAIN, IRELAND, CANADA AND AUSTRALIA INCLUDED—This office desires as full full a set as possible of the constitutions and preambles of your respective Unions. Kindly forward. Since last week, thirteen have come in, making in all forty-five on hand. There are many more needed.

TO CONTRIBUTORS ON THE CHICAGO MANIFESTO—Received but not yet published in the Daily: F. F. D., Bisbee, Ariz.; C. Z., Peekskill, N. Y.; F. H., London, Ont.; R. B., Paterson, N.J.; A. P., New York City.

T. O., ST. LOUIS, MO.; B. A. L., ALBANY, N. Y.; Y. A. T., BUFFALO, N. Y.; B. H., CINCINNATI, O.; W. G. A., TOLEDO, O.; R. K. R., BUTTE, MONT.; S. A. I., NEW YORK; T. H., KANSAS CITY, MO.; H. E. S., SAN ANTONIO, TEX.; M. R., PARIS, FRANCE; G. O., NEW YORK; W. W. C., EAST ST LOUIS, ILL.; J. F. G., ST. LOUIS, MO.; O. M. J., OAKLAND, CAL.; R. K., CLEVELAND, O.; J. M. W., MILWAUKEE, WIS.; J. L. ELMIRA, N. Y.—Matter received.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, P. O. box 380, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

THE BOHN AGITATION TOUR.

The National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, calls upon the members, friends and sympathizers of the Party to help sustain, by such weekly or monthly contributions as they can make, the work of agitation and organization now carried by Comrade Frank A. Bohn.

The organizer has now been on the road for quite some time and the experience made has been that the time is more than favorable for continuous, uninterrupted effort. The working class is in ferment, eager to learn and often hungry for our teaching. We must not withhold it from them for the sake of [illegible] that work. Send in your dimes and quarters and dollars. Try to interest your friends and shopmates. Collect some money on mavovs for this fund. Contribute small sums at regular intervals if you can, in short, resort to whatever method seems feasible and will bring results. Thus far the fund has done quite well, but it should be better. It will do better if more men and women take hold and help contribute and collect.

The volcano of the American Labor movement is rumbling and is often in eruption. We can help along and increase the pressure by increasing our activity, spread our press and literature, build up our organization, and furnish the means to do all these thing with.

For the National Executive Committee, S. L. P. Henry Kuhn, National Sec'y.

BOHN DATES FOR COLORADO.

Florence, March 3 to 8; Mntrose, 8-10; Delta, 10-12; Grand Junction, 12-15.

Members and readers of the Weekly People take notice. Help to make Comrade Bohn's tour in this State successful in the fullest sense of the word.

Martin Hurwitz,
Acting Secretary, S. E. C.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

During the week ending with Saturday, February 25, the following amounts were contributed for the above fund:

Herbert Kempton, Bisbee, Ariz.	$2.50
Wm Jurgens, Bisbee, Ariz	2.50
D. Baer, N. Y.	.25
T. Regan, Portland, Ore.	2.00
Michael Lindner, Chicago, Ill	1.00
Joseph Hamrie, Chicago, Ill.,	.50
Section Rockville, Conn.	5.00
Thos. Weilding, Butler, Pa.	1.00
33rd A. D. New York.	1.85
"Felix" Minneapolis, Minn.	1.00
F. Del Mastro, New Haven, Conn.	.75
John Howard, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00
John Sweeney, Boston, Mass	1.00
S. B. Hutchinson, Grand Junction, Colo, per Bohn	1.00
Collected at meeting, Denver, Colo., per Bohn	4.00
One-third on Brooklyn campaign lists	.75
J. E. Morton, Providence, R. I.	.50
J. C. Anderson, Tacoma, Wash	5.00
Total	$32.60
Previously acknowledge	312.67
Grand total	$345.27

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

IN AID OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONISTS

The contributions received up to date, February 25, for this fund are as follows:

Balance of collection at New York meeting	$28.36
N. Bourdon, Holyoke, Mass.	.50
Tasker Benevolent Ass'n. N. Y.	6.21
John Petini, New York	1.00
Mrs. E. Hoepfner, Perth Amboy, N. J.	1.00
Collected at G. Julius' factory, New York	4.25
Ernes Ladd, Sabinsville, Pa.	1.00
Edw. Schade, Newport News Va.	1.00
Adam Moren, New York	3.00
A. B. Lafreniere, Moosup, Conn.	1.00
John Sweeney, Boston, Mass.,	1.00
Total	$48.42

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

POSTPONED.

To the State Committees, Organizers of Sections and Members of the S. L. P.:

On account of the few returns made on N. A. F. matter, the committee in charge decided to postpone the call for returns from Feb. 15, to April 15, and the final date from March 1 to May 1, 1905.

For the N. A. F. Committee,
Secretary.

SOUND SOCIALIST LITERATURE.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party and publishes nothing but sound Socialist literature.

A CALL FOR NOMINATIONS.

To the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party. Greeting:

In accordance with Article V, Section 14j, of the Party constitution, you are herewith called upon to make nominations for one delegate to represent the Socialist Labor Party at the annual National Convention of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, which is to be held on the first Monday in June (June 5), at the city of Lynn, Massachusetts.

Since the recently issued Chicago Manifesto will engage the attention of that convention, it is important that the Socialist Labor Party be ably represented.

The nominations will close on Friday, March 24, 1905, on or before which date all nominations must be in the hands of the undersigned.

For the National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

CANADIAN N. E. C.

Regular meeting of Canadian National Executive Committe, at London, Feb. 10, 1905. Comrade Weitzel in chair. Weber, Bryce and Cragg absent, no excuse. Minutes adopted.

Communications, from R. J. Kerrigan, Montreal, asking for application form for charter. Communication was received and secretary ordered to attend to same. From Jas. C. Hurley, secretary of grievance committee of section Los Angeles, Cal., regarding H. P. Evans, late of section Vancouver. Communication was received and secretary's reply which was read and endorsed.

Secretary reported replying to R. V. Kemp of Toronto, P. Van Dusen of Hamilton, The People of Australia and The Socialist of Edinburgh, Scotland, which were read and endorsed.

Secretary was ordered to write to M. T. Berry, in reference to a tour of the Maritime Provinces, for organization purposes. H. D. Forbes, Rec. Sec'y.

N. Y. S. E. C.

Meeting of Feb. 25, at headquarters Daily People building, New York city. Kihn in chair. Ferguson and Wegener absent. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

Communications: From Sections Rochester, Utica and Scandinavian, vote on members for S. E. C. Filed until tabulation. From Rochester, $17.43, Scandinavian Section, $27.37, Newburg, $2.56, Amsterdam, $5, for N. A. F. Acknowledged. From L. A. Boland, regarding P. J. Burke. Latter accepted as member-at-large. From Tracy, names of sympathizers at Ilion, N. Y. Referred to Correspondence Bureau. From O. M. Offen, Palmyra, N. Y., on necessity for systematic canvassing for party press, and prospects of organizing, which are good. Contents noted and filed. From Charles Spiegel, New York City, stating that he will soon make business tour of state and requesting leaflets for distribution. Referred to Santee, with instructions to visit Spiegel. From Arthur Playford, Amsterdam, on conditions there. Filed. From Chas. Zolot, Peekskill, on spring election. Filed. From H. Schrader, Albany requesting instructions on the disposal of property of defunct section. As Section Rensseleaer County, which is intrusted with the work of organizing a section at Albany, reports good prospects, it was decided to instruct Schrader to turn the property over to it, the same to be used by the new section, when organized. From Section Rensselaer County, on organizing works at Albany, and requesting return of leaf of by-laws recently submitted. Secretary instructed to request remainder of by-laws, so that they may be judged in the entirety. From Section Schenectady requesting Jewish speaker for March 26. Secre'y instructed to communicate with Joseph Schlossberg, who is to be sent, if available. From Mrs. H. Stasins, member of Albany Women's Auxiliary, requesting a decision on the pro rato division of the funds of the Auxiliary among its members, upon the dissolution of Section Albany. Secretary instructed to reply that, if the Albany Women's Auxiliary was composed of members of the Socialist Labor Party, and was a sub-division of Section Albany, then the pro rato division of the Auxiliary's funds was a violation of the Party's constitution, which declares that the funds, records and property of defunct sections must be turned over to the State Executive Committee. If, however, the Albany Women's Auxiliary was not composed of Socialist Labor Party members and was an independent organization, formed to aid the Section, than the pro rato division of its funds was perfectly proper and outside the jurisdiction of this committee. From Correspondence Bureau on work accomplished. Filed. Members are urged to pay particular attention to the blanks sent to Sections by the Bureau. From Peter Jacobson, organizer of Section Westchester County, on election of officers Filed.

Organizer Abelson of Section New York appeared in behalf of the General Committee, which had instructed him to bring the matter of charging admission to lectures, as was done in Brooklyn, before the State Committee ,with a view to having it stopped in the future if possible. The General Committee believed the charging of admission unjust and prohibitive to workingmen unable to pay the same. The State Committee decided that it was neither proper nor advisable for it to dictate the methods of conducting lectures, as long as there is no violation of principles and tactics. It had no power to interfere. In addition it had been found by some sections that free lectures were a failure, while the activity and the sentiment created by the sale of tickets for lectures to which admission was charged, resulted in good attendance. It was a matter for each section to decide as local conditions demanded.

It was decided to inform the Organizer of section New York to notify thesection's State Auditing Committee to audit the State Committee's books.

Comrade Rudolph Katz was engaged for an agitation tour of the State, to begin March 6. He will be equipped with a stereoptican. No hard and fast itinerary will be fixed. Unorganized places will be given the preference.

Meeting adjourned.

J. Ebert, Secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA S. E. C.

Meeting of Feb. 24, at Philadelphia. Duarner in chair. Minutes read, corrections made.

Communications: From Comrade Katz, requesting correction of the statement in minutes of last meeting that instead of calling particular attention to the fact that the grievance committee was in arrears but also more stress was laid upon the fact that the plaintiff was in arrears more than one and-a-half years and to this fact he asks the S. E. C. to rescind its verdict. From Allentown, vote on members of S. E. C. This closes the vote for new members, giving Gay 14, Tresek 10, Mullen 18. From Weekly People, bill of 75 cents. Ordered paid. From Markley, application for charter for Allegheny County. From National Secretary Henry Kuhn, charter for Allegheny County. From Wilkinsburg, two communications, inclosing money for due stamps. Filed. From J. Bach, West Elizabeth, and Lappelle, Allentown. Filed F. From Section Philadelphia, semi-an- From Weilding, Butler, league stamps and N. A. F. matter. From Wismer, North Wales, $4.20, N. A. F. From McAllarney, Altoona, P. O. order for $10.20. From Hinkel, Reading, $2.10 for N. A. From Section Philadelphia, semi-annual financial report, and the following, for which publication was requested. Granted:

Philadelphia, Feb. 21, 1905.

Mr. D. Rehder, tem. State Secretary S. S. P., Pennsylvania.

Dear Comrade:—At the meeting of Section Philadelphia, held on Feb. 5, the matter of having the State Committee cancel the debt of the Section and reimburse the Section for the remainder of the $9.96, was reconsidered. The Section was aware that an unfavorable impression might be created upon the state membership when that membership sees the State Committee help the Section out. But it further considered that such unfavorable impression would come through ignorance of the circumstances surrounding the payment of that money. We feel that inasmuch as that money was expended for putting up the state ticket in last election no discredit should be placed upon the State Committee if it helped the Section out of the financial embarrassment it went into at that time. We therefore again ask that the State Committee cancel our debt and reimburse us for the remainder.

Fraternally, Edmund Seidel,
Organizer, Sec. Philadlephia.

Under defered business, 1,000 circular letters as per sample, were ordered; so also was the getting of names and addresses of all members and The People readers in the State.

In the matter of Katz vs Campbell, the S. E. C. rescinded its former decision on the ground that the whole proceeding was illegal, Campbell having been in arrears over one year and-a-half. It, therefore, reinstates Katz to full membership.

Receipts, $24.19. Expenses, $1.65. Adjourned. James Erwin, Secretary.

ST. LOUIS MASS MEETING.

A mass meeting under the auspices of the St. Louis Butchers Alliance, L. A. 2, S. T. & L. A., will be held on Sunday, March 5 at 2 p. m. at Harugari Hall, Tenth and Carr streets, St. Louis, Ill. Speakers will be W. W. Cox and Philip Veal of East St. Louis. The speakers will discuss the Chicago Manifesto and the possibility of a new Industrial Union being organized to supplant the A. F. of L. "Why Strikes Are Lost" and "The Mission of the Butchers' Alliance" will also be treated upon by the speakers.

Butcher workmen and all readers of the Weekly People are requested to attend. Admission free.

J. Scheidler, Organizer.

S. P. VOTE DECREASES.

Reading, Pa., Feb. 24.—The "Socialist" party candidate for mayor, A. P. Bower, polled 743 votes. Last fall Debs got 1153 votes here.

A HUMMER.

That's What the Next Daily People Festival Will Be—Read This.

The work of the Entertainment Committee for the coming affair at Grand Central Palace on Sunday, March 19 is now well in hand.

The committee is justly proud of its accomplishments so far. The fact that we have been able to secure so efficient a musical director as Mr. Leo Schulz, and the further fact that the forty musicians which he is to lead on this occasion are members of the Symphony and Philharmonic orchestra, is sufficient evidence that this concert will overshadow all former concerts given by the S. L. P. The committee has in store many other things which will go towards making up of a good program. Comrades and friends may rest assured that the program, when completed, will be worth taking in. It remains for the members of the party to push the sale of tickets to a higher point than that attained by them in the past. The price of tickets is 25 cents and may be obtained from the organizer of Section New York, Comrade L. Abelson in any quantity. Start in selling tickets at once and don't let up. Do not limit yourself. Keep on selling tickets until the day of the affair, March 19.

Next in importance to the sale of tickets comes the sending in of presents for the Bazaar and Fair, which will be run by the Women's Auxiliary. We expect the members and sympathizers of the party, also members of the S. T. & L. A., to do their utmost in the securing of these presents. It is from this source that we receive quite a sum of money, which goes towards aiding the Daily People.

We have reasons to be sure that the readers of the Daily and Weekly People understand the importance of strengthening the fighting arm of the fighting S. L. P. at this time. All eyes are now turned upon the S. L. P. The very men that have in the past looked upon the S. L. P. with contempt, eagerly now read its literature and approve of its contents. Great and glorious days are in store for our organization in the near future! And for that reason we ask you to redouble your effort for the success of the Party press. On this occasion we combine our duty towards the Daily People with pleasure. And the success of the coming affair means extended power to the party organs. Do your share of the work. Do it now!

The next meeting of the committee will be held on Thursday evening, Feb. 23, at 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

For the Entertainment Committee,
A. Orange, Secretar.y

A CINCINNATI INVITATION.

Section Cincinnati, Socialist Labor Party, wishes to extend an invitation to the readers of the Daily and Weekly People, and also to the members and sympathizers of the Party, to attend its Dance, to be held on Saturday evening, March 4, 1905, at Odd Fellow's Temple, Seventh and Elm streets. Now that the time is ripe for the carrying on of our propaganda among the members of the working class, it is to be hoped that any and all persons residing in Cincinnati, Newport, Covington and vicinity who are interested in spreading the influence of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, will be on hand to aid the Section in its initial endeavor to raise the sinews to carry on the fight against the capitalist system.

Tickets can be secured from F. Steinbach, 1860 Elm street, from all party members and also at the door of the Hall on the evening of the Dance.

Admission, 25 cents.

Entertainment Committee.

SECTION OFFICERS.

Westchester County, N. Y.—Organizer, Peter Jacobson; Secretary, Nelson J. Eker; Treasurer, R. W. Gaffney.

Winona, Minn.—Organizer, G. H. Campbell; Rec. Sec., G. Jenck; Fin. Sec., A. Roembild; Treasurer, M. A. Goltz; People Agent, G. H. Campbell.

Belleville, Ill.—Organizer, Wm. Andreas; Fin. Sec., Chas. Markham; Recording and Corresponding Secretary, Walter Goss; Literary Agent, Walter Goss; Auditing Committee, Wm. Yockman and Wm. Warner.

HOW TO GET SUBSCRIBERS.

To aid the Weekly People extend its circulation; order a bundle for distribution among your friends. Rates for small bundles are as follows:

5 copies, 3 months	$0.65
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500 copies or over, 1-2 cent a copy.

One of these copies distributed judiciously for a few weeks, will enable you to secure a new subscriber easily. Try the bundle order idea.

WHAT IS CAPITAL?

(By FERDINAND LASSALLE.)

(Conluded.)

Let us contrast the commencement of this historical analysis with the end. In the primitive state of individual, isolated labor with which we commenced, the instrument or tool—the bow and arrow of the Indian—was in the hands of the worker, and thus work alone was productive. Under the system of division of labor, work and production became social, although the distribution of the result of the work remained individualistic; and through division of labor, the system of exchange values and free competition, this result is rapidly brought about, viz: the separation of the instruments or tools from the worker becomes complete, the productivity of labor is appropriated by the holders of the tools, and the reward of the worker is reduced to that which will keep him alive whilst he works.

Formerly labor was productive; now the instrument is alone productive. The instrument of production which has been snatched from the worker, which has changed parts with the worker, is capital, the worker has become the dead, unproductive instrument, while the instrument now alone is productive.

Division of labor is the source of all fortunes. The only economic law which forms a parallel with a law of nature is that production can only become more productive and cheaper by division of labor. The law is, so to say, a social law of nature. A handful of individuals have appropriated the social law of nature, and used it for their individual benefit; the masses are bound with the chains of the ever-increasing products of industry and virtually receive in return for their labor no more than the Indian did under favorable circumstances before civilization commenced. Just as well might these individuals appropriate the force of gravity, the power of steam, and the warmth of the sun. They feed the people, as they oil their machines, to keep them in good working order, and the food of the people is only an item in the cost of production.

We have learned from the great English economists that the consumer pays for the work of man, and not for the forces of nature, but we have also learned that this payment for the work of man reaches the wrong quarter; the work of man is paid for, but the worker is not paid, and has to be content with the necessary means of existence, that being all that capital will allow him. Capital has not appropriated the sun, but it has possessed itself of the division of labor and its constantly increasing productivity. After all the sun was made by no man, and is the property of no man; but capital is grasping the advantages of the social law of nature, constantly appropriating the produce of the labor of others, and has turned the power of work into private property. Thus a social state of property has arisen in which each calls that "his" which is not the product of his labor.

* * *

But the profit of capital is the reward of abstinence. Truly a happy phrase! European millionaires are ascetics, Indian penitents, modern St. Simon Stylites, who, perched on their columns, with withered features and arms and body thrust forward, hold out a plate to the passers-by that they may receive the wages of their privations! In the midst of this sacro-saint group, high above its fellow-mortifiers of the flesh, supreme ascetic and martyr, stands the Holy House of Rothschild. That is the real truth about our present society! How could I have hitherto blundered on this point as I have?

What debauched rascals, what impure rakes, the workers must be, since they manifestly receive no reward of abstinence. Doubtless the truth is that these are they, not the others, who secretly keep mistresses and own villas and country houses where they indulge in frightful orgies!

But, joking apart—for it is no longer possible to jest about this, and the bitterest irony involuntary breaks into open revolt!—it is time, it is high time, to drown the squeaking pipe of these eunuchs by the deep voice of a fully-developed man. Is it possible when the profit of capital is due to what we have seen, when capital is the octopus which sucks up the entire surplus of the toil and sweat of the worker, leaving him only what are the bare necessaries of existence—is it possible that any one can still have the courage to speak in the presence of the workers of the profit on capital as the reward of abstinence of capitalists who mortify themselves? Yes, there are those who still have the hardihood to flout the workers, to insult these luckless proletarians, with these jeers, with these monstrous sarcasms. Has conscience, then, died out from among us? Has shame taken refuge with the brutes?

(The End.)

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Five hundred and eighty one subscriptions to the Weekly People came in during the week ending Saturday, Feb. 25, 356 of these were for three months. That is all right, providing the three-months subscribers will be looked after before their time is up and asked to renew for a longer period.

The trial subs. must be handled more systematically. We will positively not accept three-months subs. unless they are written on the blanks provided for that purpose. If you have no blanks, write for them. If you are running short, ask for more when you send in subs. Don't expect a large quantity of them. One person in each section should handle them. All subs. should be turned over to him and he should send them in about once a week. In this way only a few blanks are needed.

In a few days the blanks that came in first will be returned to the Weekly People agent or organizer of the section. He in turn should see to it that those who secure the names for the three-months subs. will look up the trial subscribers and ask them to renew. If this is done a great many additional subscriptions will be secured. Almost all will be found willing to renew, if asked to do so.

The amount now on hand for the three-months fund is $143.95. The 34th A. D. of New York city has contributed the largest portion of this fund. Other districts and other section are also asked to contribute.

P. Friesema, Jr., of Detroit, Mich., sends in 10; Fred Brown, Cleveland, O., 7; J. C. Becker, Wichita, Kansas, 7; Carl Oberheu, Milwaukee, Wis., 6; J. M. Francis, Du Quoin, Ill., 5; 5 and 15th A. D. Brooklyn, N. Y., 5; A. E. Seavey, Eureka, Cal., 5; John Farrell, Lowell, Mass., 5; Frank Leitner, San Antonio, Tex., 5; A. Rutstein, Yonkers, N. Y., 5; A. G. Buethe, Detroit, Mich. 5.

$43.25 worth of prepaid sub. cards were sold, the largest quantity for several weeks.

Bundle rates for the Weekly People are quoted elsewhere in this issue.

The Daily People will be mailed to your address 3 months for $1. A trial subscription one month, 40 cents. Another one of Eugene Sue's stories will be published in serial form in the Daily People beginning Monday, March 6. The title of it is "The Abbatial Crosier." Subscribe for the Daily now and state that you want your subscription to begin with that issue.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

A good volume of business was done during the week.

The campaign of leaflet distribution seems to be opening up. Los Angeles ordered 4,000 leaflets; Indianapolis, 1,200; Cincinnati 1,000 and Milwaukee 1,000.

Here are some who are pushing the books: Comrade A. G. Dehly of Seattle, orders 10 "Woman Under Socialism", by Bebel, 10 "The Gold Sickle", 10 "The Infant's Skull", and 10 "The Pilgrim's Shell" by Sue. The Boston comrades also took 10 "The Gold Sickle" and 10 "The Infant's Skull". Detroit bought 11 "The Silver Cross"; San Francisco 10, a comrade of Seattle 5, Yonkers, N. Y., 6, Cleveland 5, Buffalo 2 and Schenectady 3. Lowell, Mass., also took 2 "The Silver Cross" by Sue, and Methuen, Mass., ordered 3 of each of our Sue books. Chicago took 2 "The Pilgrim's Shell" and one "The Infant's Skull."

St. Paul, Minn., ordered 100 "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism", 11 of the Sue books, 2 "Woman Under Socialism", and other literature. Los Angeles also took 100 "Burning Question" and a good order of assorted literature beside Winona, Minn., took 10 "Two Pages From Roman History", 25 "Burning Question", "The Gold Sickle" and "The Infant's Skull." Frank Bohn ordered 50 "Burning Question" and 50 other pamphlets, assorted.

Splendid opportunities are calling you to line up! These records show our stalwarts are lining up!!

A new edition of "What Means This Strike?" in the large size, is just going to press. Send in orders for it.

"The History of Trades Unionism in the United States," by Justus Ebert, is also to come out in pamphlet shortly. It suits the needs of the hour. Let the orders for it come in.

"The Burning Question of Trades Unionism" in Jewish, is also going to press this week.

Our established prices for pamphlets will prevail as to all of these.

"The Burning Question of Trades Unionism" in German can be had from the Cleveland Labor News Agency, 193 Columbus street, Cleveland, O. It is ready for delivery.

So let the buzz-saw sing.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

CALL TO CIGARMAKERS.

(Continued from page 1.)

the strike because monies were coming into the strike treasury, which the leaders attacked like a horde of free lunch grabbers at a Bowery lunch counter. Only a few months passed away after this meeting when the Philadelphia cigarmakers, among them J. Mahlon Barnes, a secretary of the International, issued a statement, wherein the charges made by the "Pioneers" were substantiated. Like the capitalist class, which will, in order to direct the attention of the worker from itself, search for the enemy outside of its borders, likewise the "International," in order to cover their crimes, they pointed at the "Pioneers" as the enemy.

Fellow cigarmakers! There hardly ever existed an organization that has been so misrepresented and had so much calumny heaped upon it as the "Pioneer Cigarmakers' Union"; but, in spite of all that has been hurled against the nucleus of the organization that is to act its part in the emancipation of our class, the masked enemies of the working class could not destroy it.

In conclusion, in face of the facts enumerated in this leaflet, we re-assert: the International Cigar Makers' Union is not a labor organization. It was claimed that the members of the "International" are "union" men 364 days in the year, but scabs on the 365th day. We hold that a body of men who could be union men three hundred and sixty-four days, could not be scabs on election day. But the fact is, they are scabs in the shops as well as at the hustings.

Cigarmakers! Long enough have you been the football of the capitalists and the labor fakir. The two have played into each other's hands and brought you down to where you now are. The time has come to turn a new leaf. Let us turn it now.

Pioneer Cigar Makers' Union,
L. A. 141, S. T. & L. A.
255 East Fourth St., N. Y.

Section Calendar

(Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements, at a nominal rate. The charge will be one dollar per line per year.)

New York County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Kings County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at headquarters, 813 Park avenue, Brooklyn.

General Committee—First Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, California. Section headquarters and public reading room at 205½ South Main street. Public educational meetings every Sunday evening. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. headquarters and free reading room 850 Market street Room 40. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited.

Section Chicago, S. L. P. meet every 2nd and 4th Monday at Exchange Hall corner of Sangamon and Monroe street.

All communications to Section Toronto to be sent to C. A. V. Kemp, organizer Section Toronto, Bracondale P. O. Ont. Canada.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every Thursday, 8 p. m. at 307½ Pine Street Room 6.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday of month at 356 Ontario Street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 2.30 P. M.

Tacoma, Wash., Section headquarters and public reading room corner 12th and A street, room 304, over Post Office. Open every evening. All workingmen invited. Business meetings every Tuesday.

Section Providence, R. I., meets at 77 Dyer street, room 8. Something going on every Tuesday night at 8.00 p. m. 2nd and 4th regular business, others devoted to lectures and discussions. During the winter a Science Class every Wednesday night.

Meetings (each month) first and third Tuesday night, at 29½ South Del. street, third floor, Indianapolis, Ind.

Detroit, Mich., "Socialist Labor Auxiliary Reading Room, room 10 avenue Theatre Bldg. ,Woodward avenue. Open every evening. Sunday all day. Discussion upon interesting topics every Sunday evening. All are welcome.

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